# A Cultural History of Translation in Early Modern Japan

REBEKAH CLEMENTS

# A Cultural History of Translation in Early Modern Japan

The translation of texts has played a formative role in Japan's history of cultural exchange as well as the development of literature, and indigenous legal and religious systems. This is the first book of its kind, however, to offer a comprehensive survey of the role of translation in Japan during the Tokugawa period, 1600–1868. By examining a wide range of translations into Japanese from Chinese, Dutch, and other European texts, as well as the translation of classical Japanese into the vernacular, Rebekah Clements reveals the circles of intellectual and political exchange that existed in early modern Japan, arguing that, contrary to popular belief, Japan's 'translation' culture did not begin in the Meiji period. Examining the 'crisis translation' of military texts in response to international threats to security in the nineteenth century, Clements also offers fresh insights into the overthrow of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1868.

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For Derek and Diana

# Contents

# Figures

# Tables

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Cambridge, 2014

# A note on dates, transliteration, and names

Japanese calendar years prior to 1872 do not correspond exactly to Western ones because various lunar calendars were in use until that point in Japan. Moreover, years were numbered as a sequence according to eras of varying length, which began and ended for auspicious reasons such as the death of a shogun or an emperor. Because eras start and finish suddenly, part of a single calendar year sometimes belongs to the last year of an old era and the first year of a new one. For the sake of consistency and clarity for the non-specialist reader, when giving dates I have therefore avoided era names and have used the Western calendar year corresponding most closely to the Japanese lunar year in question.

Japanese has been romanized according to the Hepburn system, and Chinese according to Pinyin. Pre-modern Japanese naming conventions are complicated by the fact that people were known at various times in their lives by different names: childhood names, family names, pen-names, etc. For consistency and ease of reference, where possible I have used the uniform name (*tōitsu chosha mei* 統一著者名) for each individual's entry in the *Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku* (KSM) catalogue maintained by the National Institute for Japanese Literature, unless scholarly convention dictates otherwise or the reading of the name in catalogue is now considered incorrect. I have followed the Japanese convention of referring to individuals by their family name followed by personal name in the first instance, and their personal or pen-name thereafter due to the large numbers of scholars from family lineages who share the same surname. Characters for names are not included in the main body of the text. There is instead an index at the end of the monograph, which gives names, characters, and dates. Characters corresponding to the titles of works given in the main body of the text are also given at the end of the monograph (see the Index of names).

# Introduction

Translation, in one form or another, has been present in all major exchanges between cultures in history.[1] Japan is no exception, and it is part of the standard narrative of Japanese history that translation has played a formative role in the development of indigenous legal and religious systems as well as literature, from early contact with China to the present-day impact of world literatures in Japanese translation. Yet translation is by no means a mainstream area of study for historians of Japan and there are no monograph-length overviews of the history of pre-modern Japanese translation available in any language. This phenomenon is not confined to Japanese studies, for, as Burke and Hsia note in *Cultural Translation in Early Modern Europe*, the study of the cultural history of translation is still in its infancy worldwide.[2] Although for some years there has been interest in the historical dimension among translation studies specialists, this has yet to be matched by the study of translation by historians.[3]

In the Japanese case translation is a vital part of coming to grips with the cultural fabric of the pre-modern period, questions of intellectual exchange, and the way readers interacted with texts. Despite the sometimes persistent notion of 'national isolation' (*sakoku* 鎖国), during much of the pre-modern period Japan was the final stop on the Silk Road, and through contact with Chinese merchants, Catholic missionaries, and Dutch traders during the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, was on the receiving end of a vast network of intellectual exchange, spanning continents. This network encompassed not only texts written in Chinese, such as the Buddhist and Confucian canons, which circulated in the countries now known as India, China, Vietnam, Korea, and from there to Japan, but also European-language works that were part of emerging discourses on the natural sciences,

[1] Burke and Hsia 2007, p. 1. [2] Burke and Hsia 2007, pp. 1–3.

[3] On the historical dimension in translation studies, see St André 2009. A book chapter providing an introduction to the history of translation in East Asia is the only research to consider in a broad context the practice of translation in pre-modern Japan, and is by a translation studies specialist: Wakabayashi 2005b.

geography, and history; texts like Anthelme Richerand's *Nouveaux éléments de physiologie* (1801), Johann Hübner's *Allgemeine Geographie* (1730–1), as well as biographies of Napoleon Bonaparte, reached Japan in Dutch translation via the Dutch East India Company trading post at Nagasaki. During the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, the Dutch were prolific translators of works in other European languages, and so Japanese scholars had access to parts of the world of European scholarly endeavour via the medium of the Dutch language.[4]

Moreover, Japanese readers interacted with their own past by means of translation: the development of a commercial publishing industry in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries led to a growing market of readers with lower levels of literacy who nevertheless wished to read the great works of Japanese court literature from the tenth and eleventh centuries, such as *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*, *c.*1008) and *Tales of Ise* (*Ise monogatari c.*900), which were written in what is now known as classical Japanese. Vernacular translation was one means by which they were able to do so. Nor was vernacular translation a technique used only for the benefit of those with low levels of education. From the end of the eighteenth century, a new breed of scholar, exemplified by Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801) and Suzuki Akira (1764–1837), used vernacular translation as a means of studying and teaching classical Japanese texts like the *Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern* (*Kokin wakashū*, *c.*905) as well as *The Tale of Genji*; moreover, eminent thinkers like Itō Jinsai (1627–1705) and Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728) advocated and practised translation from Chinese texts as a teaching method in their sinological academies.

The study of translation in the pre- and early modern periods is also important because it provides necessary background for understanding translation as it was practised in Japan during modern times, particularly the Meiji period (1868–1912) – a topic that has received much scholarly attention, unlike translation in the centuries beforehand. It is well known that the contours of Japanese modernity were shaped by a wave of translations that broke over the Japanese cultural landscape in the second half of the nineteenth century. Thus, in contrast to the relative lack of interest in pre- or early modern translation, there are numerous studies of translation in Japan that begin with texts translated after the Meiji Revolution of 1868.[5] In sharp contrast to the paucity of

[4] On early modern Dutch translation activities, see the essays contained in Cook and Dupré 2012b.

[5] The works in this field are too numerous to list in full, but some of the important studies on the phenomenon as a whole are: (in Japanese) Yanagida 1961, Kimura 1972, Yanabu 1976, Yanabu 1982, Maruyama and Katō 1991, Kamei 1994, (and in English) Miller

bibliographic materials on pre-Meiji translation, there is a catalogue of all the National Diet Library's holdings of translated Western literature produced in book form in Japan during the Meiji period.[6] In addition there are also modern reproductions of the corpora of Meiji translations of Western literature that appeared in books, or magazines, and newspapers.[7] This study will attempt to redress the balance of scholarship as well as show that many Meiji translation practices have their roots in the years prior to 1868.

## How should translation be studied?

In so far as the history of pre-modern Japanese translation has been studied, it has been largely thanks to the efforts of linguistic or literary specialists working in discrete fields of enquiry – Dutch studies, vernacular Chinese novels, or linguistics, for example (*rangaku* 蘭学, *hakuwa shōsetsu* 白話小説, and *hon'yakugo* 翻訳語, to give their Japanese field names).[8] This is partly because a big-picture study dealing with the wide variety of texts encountered and translated by Japanese readers in history means dealing with a large number of languages and multiple fields of study. The list of languages from which Japanese translations were made prior to the Meiji period includes but is not limited to classical Chinese, vernacular Chinese, classical Japanese, Latin, Dutch, English, French, and Manchu. And this is to say nothing of the necessity of coming to terms with documentary traditions as varied as Chinese and Western medicine, Roman Catholic theology, tenth-century Japanese court poetry, and Ming fiction.

Exceptions to the narrow scholarly focus usually take the form of short, introductory overviews, which are tantalizing for the questions they raise. The mainstream position on pre-Meiji translation in Japan is best summed up in a series of dialogues between Maruyama Masao (1914–96), one of Japan's leading post-war intellectual historians, and Katō Shūichi (1919–2008), a prominent literary critic, as Katō prepared

2001, Howland 2002, Levy 2008a and Emmerich 2013. A more detailed bibliography of works in English and Japanese is available in Quinn 2008, which also includes some studies of pre-Meiji translation.

6 Sakakibara 1988–91.

7 Kawato and Sakakibara 1996–2001 and Kawato and Nakabayashi 2001–3.

8 In studies of the history of Dutch studies, the work of Sugimoto Tsutomu has been particularly important (e.g., Sugimoto 1976–82, Sugimoto 1990a). The study of translated vernacular Chinese novels began with Ishizaki 1940 and Asō 1946, and remains a significant field of enquiry (e.g., Nakamura 2011). Yanabu Akira has published a number of important monographs on the history of *hon'yakugo* – that is to say, linguistic analysis of the ways in which (usually Western) concepts such as 'liberty' or 'society' were translated into Japanese or Sino-Japanese. A list of Yanabu's major monographs on this topic is available in Quinn 2008, pp. 294–6.

to replace the ailing Maruyama as editor of a volume on translation in the *Modern Japanese Thought* (*Nihon kindai shisō taikei*) series.[9] The published record of their discussion touches upon translation in Japan from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century with a view to understanding the role translation played in Meiji modernization. Useful though the overview is, this period of translation is seen almost entirely in the light of Meiji modernity. The picture that Maruyama and Katō paint in this discussion and in the introduction to the edited volume that followed is of translation's role in Japan's triumphant catch-up to modernity and successful preservation of sovereignty in the face of Western imperialism. The contrast is drawn with perceived failures by China, and Maruyama's modernist hero Ogyū Sorai, with his call for translation from Chinese into Japanese, features prominently.[10]

In addition to Maruyama and Katō, in more recent years there have been at least two chapter-length attempts to examine the history of early modern Japanese translation theory and practice. The Japanese historian, Sugimoto Tsutomu, who has mainly worked on translation from Dutch, has written a brief but insightful overview, noting the proliferation of theoretical works on translation during the eighteenth century.[11] A historical turn among translation studies scholars has seen Judy Wakabayashi examine the pre-modern history of translation in East Asia, including Japan, in a chapter-length overview, arguing for the importance of the regional perspective as well.[12]

Given the diversity of Japanese translation practices in history, it is unsurprising, however, that with a small number of exceptions, studies of pre-modern translation have tended to stay within a single tradition or language field. These have yielded valuable insights into such questions as the influence of foreign languages on Japanese syntax and vocabulary, early Japanese Christianity, the history of medicine, and the development of Japanese literary forms. However, such studies remain separated from each other, and contribute to a fractured understanding of the multilingual Japanese past. For it was indeed multilingual: a scholar active

[9] Maruyama and Katō 2008. Although this has yet to be translated into English, an English overview with discussion is available in Haag 2008.

[10] Maruyama 1952 (in English translation: Maruyama 1974). For an overview of the importance of Maruyama's work on Sorai, and its critical reception, see Ooms and Harootunian 1977.

[11] Sugimoto 1991, pp. 363–90.

[12] Wakabayashi 2005b. Wakabayashi is also the co-author of the entry on the history of the Japanese translation tradition in the *Routledge Encyclopedia of Translation Studies*: Kondo and Wakabayashi 2009. In addition, Okada Kesao has written several monographs in Japanese with a linguistic focus comparing two or more languages that were subject to Tokugawa translation: Okada 1991, 2006.

during the Tokugawa period (1600–1868), for example, would usually have read classical Chinese texts as well as classical Japanese, and may also have known Dutch or vernacular Chinese. During the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, some educated Japanese converts to Christianity also learned Latin and Portuguese as well. Even less-educated readers to varying degrees encountered works in literary or vernacular Chinese as well as classical and contemporary forms of Japanese, and large urban centres like Edo and Kyoto were melting pots for dialects from across the country. The tendency in modern scholarship, however, has been to pigeonhole historical personalities as either Kokugaku (i.e., scholars of Japanese language and literature), Confucianist (Chinese) or a scholar of Western learning (usually Dutch); ordinary readers are largely overlooked. Although many early modern scholars did specialize, and for practical reasons it is necessary for researchers today to limit their field of view somehow, in the long term, the risk of relying too much on such classifications is an oversimplification of historical realities and the balkanization of scholarship.

The other convenient but problematic way of dealing with the unwieldy contents of the history of Japanese translation has been to treat 'literary' translation as an entirely separate phenomenon to the contemporaneous translation of science, law, current affairs, and other types of non-fiction. Even the numerous historical studies which consider the influx of foreign works during the Meiji period tend to focus exclusively on the translation of Western literature at the expense of non-fiction.[13] In reality, both non-fiction and fiction were translated in large quantities, and were often subject to the same translation strategies. Indeed, works of fiction were sometimes translated as fact, as was the case with *Robinson Crusoe*. Often cited as the first example of Western 'literature' (*bungaku* 文学) translated into Japanese, this work was translated as a real example of castaway life (*hyōryūki* 漂流記).[14]

Thus, although a start has been made and scholars acknowledge its importance, the long story of translation in Japanese history is yet to be told in detail. There is much useful research which exists cordoned off within disciplinary boundaries, and the time is ripe for scholars to begin to bring this together for more comprehensive examination. It is also desirable to move beyond a linguistic focus on the nuts and bolts of translation and use insights gleaned from such approaches to consider the wider role translation and translators have played in Japanese history, a role that until now has been acknowledged but never investigated on a large scale.

[13] E.g., Yanagida 1961 and Kamei 1994. A work which attempts to avoid this pitfall is Miller 2001, which compares the translation both of novels and scientific writings.
[14] Matsuda 1998, pp. 165–242.

### Scope of the present study

This book looks at translation in early modern Japan (1600–1868) from a macroscopic perspective as it pertains to written texts across different languages and genres. The mode of enquiry is that of cultural history. Since the topic has not been dealt with on a large scale in Japanese studies before, I follow the pioneering example of Burke and Hsia, who considered the cultural history of translation in early modern Europe, and approach the history of translation in early modern Japan broadly by means of the following three questions: what forms of translation were practised, who were the translators, and what, exactly, were they translating (or not translating)?[15] I also consider how the answers to these questions differ depending on the languages involved. Consistent with previous scholars who have acknowledged the importance of Chinese and Western language texts in translation, I consider both these language groups. However, I add a third linguistic axis to the equation and look also at texts translated from and into different forms of Japanese as translators and readers began to interact with their own language, past and present.[16]

The period of enquiry is the Tokugawa period (1600–1868) – nearly two-and-a-half centuries during which the land was ruled by the hereditary shoguns of the Tokugawa house. It is also a time known as Japan's early modern period. Although 'early modern' is a term derived from European historiography, where it denotes a slightly earlier time period, the centuries approximately 1500–1800, it is a classification that has also been adopted by historians of Japan, not without controversy.[17] While being mindful of the danger of viewing the Tokugawa period solely as a prelude to nineteenth-century Meiji modernization, the term 'early modern' nonetheless has relevance from a comparative perspective because, like early modern Europe, the period ruled by the Tokugawa shoguns was characterized by the growth of cities, spread of secular thought, the expansion of mercantile capitalism and the development of a commercial publishing industry.[18] There was a thirst for information and this was satiated in part by investigating past classics as well as new sources of information. It is against this backdrop that the

[15] Burke and Hsia 2007.

[16] Though I do touch upon the translation of poetry, it is not one of the main lines of enquiry. This is partly for reasons of space but also because by and large, the kinds of issues and approaches encountered in relation to poetic translation differ from those encountered in the translation of prose. See e.g., Weissbort 2005.

[17] Hall 1991, pp. 33–4. For a discussion, see Wigen 1995 and Berry 2012. Berry suggests an earlier beginning: 1573, when the last of the Ashikaga shoguns went into exile following escalating conquests by the warlord Oda Nobunaga (2012, p. 43).

[18] On the differences with other early modern periods see e.g., Berry 2012, pp. 42–3.

seventeenth to mid-nineteenth centuries saw a proliferation of translation in Japan. The period is of interest both for this abundance and for its place in Japanese history – encompassing the changes that occurred with Tokugawa rule, and preceding the well-known influx of European works and models from the mid-nineteenth century onwards. Moreover, like early modern Europe, the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries in Japan were characterized by a growing awareness of language as an abstract concept. This awareness was accompanied by debates about the nature of language, reading practices, and translation that had not been observed in Japan before to such an extent and which were to become of great importance during the modern period.[19]

Though the field of view of the monograph is the Tokugawa period, for reasons of space there are inevitable softenings and sharpening of focus. The main focus is the mainstream and most prolific translation activities of Tokugawa society as it grew in literacy, wealth, and curiosity about native, Chinese, and Western knowledge. Although the translation activities of the Christian missionaries are discussed in Chapter 4, these do not receive as much attention as other fields of translation, since they were by no means mainstream, and the vast majority was destroyed in the persecution of the 1620s. They do offer an example of alternative ways of translating European languages into Japanese but were never part of either commercial print or widespread manuscript culture, and those that have survived did so in secret.

At the other end of the period, the focus of analysis begins to blur after the 1850s. As discussed in Chapter 5, the closing decades of Tokugawa rule saw a change in official, shogunate attitudes towards translation and the circulation of translated information following a series of increasingly alarming encounters with the representatives of Western powers. At this time there was correspondingly greater shogunate support for translation in order to better understand the Western nations whose representatives were sitting in warships alarmingly near to the coast of Japan. Shogunate support also resulted in more freedoms in what sort of materials were available for private scholars to translate. Traditionally, these factors are discussed as the defining characteristics of Meiji translation, but when it comes to government support for translation of Western language works the 1850s to 1860s have much in common with practices usually associated with Meiji translation that followed.

As the case of these late Tokugawa translations demonstrates, in places it is necessary to bring the analysis over into the periods before and

[19] On the 'discovery of language' in early modern Europe, see Burke 2004, pp. 15–42.

after the Tokugawa to consider the roots of the translation practices that flourished during the period and the direction they took afterwards. Translators who were active during the Tokugawa period were drawing upon the textual traditions of previous centuries, and it should also be noted that many Tokugawa translators continued to be active on the other side of the 1868 'watershed' and into the Meiji period. Though for practical reasons it is necessary to draw rough boundary lines, the Tokugawa period is often treated as a hermetically sealed section of history stretching in isolation from Tokugawa Ieyasu's victory over the western daimyo warlords in 1600 to his house's fall from power in the Meiji Revolution of 1868.[20] This study will attempt to avoid such pitfalls.

## What is translation?

However, one cannot wade off in to the depths of Tokugawa history in search of translation without some idea of what that might actually look like. And this is by no means simple. There are two fundamental difficulties: the first is the shifting boundaries of the term 'translation' when people write about it in English, and the second is that, even if a meaning for 'translation' in the language and intellectual tradition of this monograph can be pinned down, there are complications when trying to apply the term to past Japanese practices.[21] Of course, the English word 'translation' was not used in Tokugawa Japan, and, less intuitively, there was no one Japanese word corresponding to 'translation' at the time. To complicate matters further, current expectations of what a translation should be can interfere with a discussion of what translators in the past were actually doing.

Turning for guidance to the writings of prominent thinkers and translators throughout the history of translation in the Western tradition, to which this monograph belongs, results in a dizzying array of contradictions, for people have disagreed from the very beginning. And these contradictions risk affecting the way Western scholars write about Japanese translation. Debates about translation of classical Greek into Latin occurred between proponents of rhetoric and proponents of grammar in the Roman world, and it is from these that much of

[20] On reasons for describing the events of 1868 as a 'revolution' rather than the more traditional term 'restoration', see Watanabe 2012, p. xiii.

[21] See the essays contained in Venuti 2000 for examples of the competing meanings of 'translation'. On the problems of applying Western translation theory to non-Western cultures, see Tymoczko 2006. On the Japanese case see Yanabu 2008a and 2008b (the latter is an English translation of a slightly modified version of Yanabu 2008a).

European writing on translation descends.[22] The debates produced a bifurcated notion of translation, split between approaches that warped the target language so as to convey the syntactical feel of the source text – advocated by grammarians, who used it as a tool of linguistic learning – and approaches that were written in language more natural to the target audience conveying the sense of the source text, which were advocated by rhetoricians, who wished to mine Greek texts for ideas and expressions to enrich their own. This split continued in Bible translation, with battles fought over the 'word for word' versus 'sense for sense' approaches to the sacred text. Indeed, the fact that so much of Western translation theory resulted from the need to justify the very act of translating Scripture or the methods used to do so has indelibly marked both theory and practice with a high degree of anxiety. Even for texts that are not scriptural, reverence for the original work was strengthened in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries by the Romantic notion of the author as wellspring of intellectual activity producing a work of sacrosanct genius.

The old dichotomy, which is also articulated in various other ways including 'faithful' versus 'free', and 'literal' versus 'liberal', is to be found in writings on translation beyond the fields of classics or scripture, and continued into the modern period.[23] Among practitioners of translation in more recent years the spectrum of opinion has ranged from Vladimir Nabokov, for whom the expression 'literal translation' was 'tautological since anything but that is not truly a translation but an imitation, an adaptation or a parody'; to Octavio Paz, who argued that literalism was not translation at all but instead 'a mechanism, a string of words that helps us read the text in its original language … a glossary rather than a translation'.[24]

Needless to say, Japanese translation practices prior to the modern period do not descend from any bifurcated Greco-Roman model, nor was there any established vernacular tradition of scriptural translation before the nineteenth century when foreign missionaries made a concerted effort to translate the Bible. It is only recently that vernacular Japanese translations of Buddhist sutras have appeared on the market and it is the Chinese versions that are still used in ritual practice in Japan.[25] Thus it is wise to be cautious about applying European-derived

22 The first and most thorough treatment of this subject is Copeland 1991.
23 The standard work on translation studies is Baker and Saldanha 2009.
24 Nabokov 1992, p. 134; Paz 1992, p. 154.
25 On the history of Buddhist translation in Japan, see Kitagawa 1963. In Japanese Buddhist liturgy sutras are chanted using an approximation of Chinese pronunciation, and such translations as exist are produced by means of affixing a complicated series of diacritical

translation concerns to the kinds of materials discussed in this book. That is not to suggest that pre-modern Japanese translators were unconcerned with questions of accuracy or even with 'faithfulness' – as it turns out, in some cases they were – but the reasons for this lie in the Japanese experience of engaging with texts and in the cultural context of the Sinographic world. For the most part, dichotomies between 'word for word' and 'sense for sense' or 'faithful' versus 'unfaithful' were not used by Japanese translators themselves.[26]

Also problematic in a study of past translation practices are current understandings of what constitutes a 'translation'. As Table 1 demonstrates, in Japan there was simply no one handy term that corresponds to a sweeping category of 'translation' as we know it in English. Moreover, *hon'yaku* 翻訳, the term that is most commonly used to mean 'translation' in Japan today, was not the most commonly used during the period.[27] In pre-modern Japan *hon'yaku* was associated with the translation of sutras into Chinese,[28] and it is likely that the absence of similar, large-scale translation projects attempting to render sacred texts into equally authoritative Japanese versions in part accounts for the lack of popularity

markers to the source text that when read or transcribed produce a highly bound form of translationese that is itself difficult to understand. These methods are discussed in Chapter 3 of this monograph.

26 A recent example serves to illustrate this point: a groundbreaking and valuable study that sought to avoid previous pitfalls by examining the translation of works of both fiction and non-fiction, J. Scott Miller's *Adaptations of Western Literature in Meiji Japan*, was nonetheless troubled by a conceptual framework based on European precedents (2001). Miller divided the translation of non-fiction and fiction according to a 'translative–adaptive' dichotomy (*hon'yaku* 翻訳 versus *hon'an* 翻案) based on the kind of split seen in European translation history. Although in creating the dichotomy Miller used Japanese words, the dichotomy itself was not taken from nineteenth-century Japanese sources. Thus, *hon'yaku* was posited as something equivalent to 'literal translation' as opposed to the liberal freedom of *hon'an*. Works of non-fiction, Miller argued, were translated literally, while fiction was freely adapted. In fact, as one reviewer pointed out, in the Meiji period very few translations of any subject could be called 'literal', and there was not such a clear divide between fiction and non-fiction when it came to translation at the time (Kornicki 2002, p. 132).

27 For example, despite the hundreds, perhaps even thousands, of translations that were produced in Tokugawa Japan, only forty-five works in the most comprehensive bibliography of early modern Japanese texts (*Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku*) have *hon'yaku* in the title, and most of these date from the mid-nineteenth century. This of course does not include any works which may have used the word *hon'yaku* in their prefaces or introductions; however, together with the plethora of other terms in use it offers a glimpse of the less-than-mainstream status of the term. By way of comparison, the term *yakubun* 訳文 as used in book titles scores 63 hits, *yakkai* 訳解 57, and *wage* 和解 an astonishing 498 (although some of these may include 'translations' more loosely defined).

28 On the perceived links between the word *hon'yaku* and Chinese sutra translation, see Sugimoto 1991, pp. 363–90.

Table 1 *Terms for translation in pre-modern and early modern Japan*

| Expression | | Meaning |
|---|---|---|
| *yaku* | 訳 | (word-for-word) translation |
| *hon'yaku* | 翻訳 | equivalent translation |
| *yakujutsu* | 訳述 | translation with elaboration |
| *shōyaku* | 抄訳 | translation in extracts |
| *yakkai* | 訳解 | translation with interpretation |
| *wage* | 和解 | Japanese interpretation, simplified interpretation |
| *yawarage* | 和らげ | Japanization/simplification |
| *kuchi yawarage* | 口和らげ | Japanized/simplified 'tongue' |
| *genkai* | 諺解 | vernacular interpretation |
| *rigen/rigenkai* | 俚諺・俚言解 | countrified/rustic language |
| *zokuge* | 俗解 | vernacular/vulgar interpretation |
| *tsūzoku* | 通俗 | common/vulgar |
| *hinakotoba* | 鄙言 | countrified language |
| *kanagaki* | 仮名書き | written in kana |
| *waji* | 和字 | Japanese characters |
| *kakiutsusu* | 書きうつす | to rewrite |
| *utsusu* | うつす・移す・写す | to transfer, to copy (also, to reflect) |
| *hikinaosu* | 引きなをす | to redo |
| *yakubun/utsushibumi* | 訳文 | translated/rewritten/transferred text |
| *kun* | 訓 | annotation, interpretation, reading |
| *kunkai* | 訓解 | annotative interpretation, annotative reading |
| *kunko* | 訓詁 | to explain or interpret old terms |

of the term. In contrast to the smaller range of terms in use today, there was a variety of words which might be understood as meaning 'translation', which sprang up in the context of different fields of translation in pre-modern Japan: *waji* 和字 ('Japanese characters'), for example, was associated with the translation of Chinese into Japanese, as conceptualized from the perspective of a change in script; *yakujutsu* 訳述 ('translation with explication') is often found in translations from Dutch, where, as will be discussed in Chapter 4, translation was seen as a scholarly tool for mining a foreign text in order to write a new work.

This plethora of terminology suggests there was no one overarching mental category of 'translation' in early modern Japan, such as may be observed in the anglophone publishing industry today. The current norm in the anglophone publishing industry is of a variety which Theo Hermans summed up as 'a transcendental and utopian conception of translation as reproducing the original, the whole original and nothing but the

original'.[29] Such is the desire to believe in complete transfer within the commercial, English-language publishing industry today that the role of translators has become devalued and effectively 'invisible'.[30] There is often no mention of their name on the cover or title page of translated works and reviewers treat the translation as if it were identical with the source text. Even within the academy, the work of scholarly translation is devalued and counts for little in research output calculations. Scholarly translators are 'invisible' too.

Based upon such a narrow definition, there would seem little throughout Japanese history prior to the modern period which could safely be called 'translation'. In addition to what a modern reader might recognize as passages, or occasionally entire works, of something approaching direct translation, the translators of the Tokugawa period also unashamedly omitted, and in places embellished, their source texts. In fact, vast amounts of English-language translation history would also fall outside a definition of translation as the 'whole original and nothing but the original'. One of the most famous translations of poetry into English, Edward FitzGerald's 1859 reworking of the quatrains (*robâ'iyât*) ascribed to the Persian astronomer and mathematician Omar Khayyâm (1048–1131), for example, would almost certainly be excluded.[31] Yet FitzGerald's work was sold as a 'translation' at the time.[32] Looking further afield, works like the seventeenth-century French renderings, known as '*les belles infidèles*' ('unfaithful beauties'), which reworked classical texts in what was seen as a liberal manner, would almost certainly be excluded.[33]

Helpfully, in recognition of what it is that translators actually do and of the different textual practices that have existed in history, the focus of work in the modern translation studies discipline has been shifting away from the idea of translation as equivalence only, and has now broadened to include the concepts of representation, transfer or transmission, and transculturation. André Lefevere's notion of 'refraction' or 'rewriting' has been particularly influential in this respect and is extremely useful for

[29] Hermans 1985, p. 9.

[30] See Venuti 2008. An interesting exception is the latest English translation of Chaucer's *The Canterbury Tales*, by the popular author Peter Ackroyd, which the publisher calls a 'retelling'. The choice of nomenclature is significant: by referring to the work as a 'retelling' rather than a translation the publisher is emphasizing Ackroyd's creative role, a selling point, and distinguishing the work from that of 'invisible' translators whose efforts are assumed merely to provide a transparent window on the original text. Ackroyd himself, however, refers to his work as 'translation' (2009; Appleyard 2009, p. 8).

[31] FitzGerald 1859. See also Burke and Hsia 2007, pp. 25–6.

[32] Although his approach does seem to have caused some to feel the need for more 'close' rendering of the original. See Heron-Allen 1899; Thompson 1907.

[33] On these works see, Zuber 1968.

grasping the broad viewpoint relevant to this cultural historical study of translation in Japan.[34] As the reception of classical Japanese and Chinese texts in the Tokugawa period demonstrates, ‘refractions’ of the kind identified by Lefevere, such as digests, commentaries, vernacularizations, parodies, and even themed teapot sets, were driven by similar market forces and a new-found interest among urban commoners in the court culture of the past; to consider the vernacularizations in isolation would be misleading. Thus ‘translation’ exists as part of a network of other rewritings and refractions of the subject text and it may often be difficult to distinguish from other kinds of rewriting.

The translation studies discipline has also moved away from considering translations primarily in the light of their relationship to the source text. Following the work of scholars like Gideon Toury and Even-Zohar, translated texts may now be studied as works circulating in a ‘polysystem’ of norms within the target-language culture, rather than for how they do or do not measure up to an original.[35] For Tokugawa Japan, this means studying translations in the context of the scholarly networks, commercial publishing industry and emerging classes of readership in which they were produced and circulated. Their relationship to the source text (or texts, as was often the case) is of interest in so far as it enables us to understand what content made it into these cultural spheres and what the concerns and methods of the translators were, but it is not the main focus of enquiry in this study.

The broader scope of the translation studies discipline does, of course, come with its own difficulties. If the notion of translation has broadened so that, as George Steiner posited, any act of linguistic understanding may be regarded as an act of translation, then at what point should lines be drawn if any between works known as ‘dictionaries’, ‘commentaries’, ‘translations’, ‘adaptations’, ‘parodies’, and so on?[36] And how is the historian of translation who hopes that the boundaries of their study will lie within practical limits to come to terms with such a behemoth? In practice, boundary lines must be drawn, even if they are permeable.

## Definition of ‘translation’ in the present study

In his seminal 1959 paper ‘On Linguistic Aspects of Translation’, Roman Jakobson distinguished between three types of translation as it relates to the transfer, not merely of linguistic meaning, but more broadly, of signs:

[34] Lefevere 1984, 1992.
[35] Major studies include Toury 1995 and Even-Zohar 1990. See also Tymoczko 2007.
[36] Steiner 1975. For a consideration of the broadening definition of ‘translation’, see Tymoczko 2007.

1 Intralingual translation or rewording: an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language.
2 Interlingual translation or translation proper: an interpretation of verbal signs by means of some other language.
3 Intersemiotic translation or transmutation: an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems.[37]

It is the second type of translation, 'translation proper', which corresponds to the idea of translation most prevalent today, and carries with it connotations of accuracy, faithfulness, and authenticity. However, as Jakobson's categories suggest, there is more to translation than the replacement of one set of verbal signs with verbal signs from another language, or even verbal signs from the same language. His inclusion of the category 'intersemiotic translation' is an indication of how broad the concept of translation can be.

For reasons of space this study cannot do justice to all three types of translation, and so intersemiotic translation, which was prevalent during the Tokugawa period in the form of illustrated editions of Japanese and Chinese literary classics, for example, will have to await a more fulsome treatment on another occasion. This kind of pictorial translation is part of the hinterland of the discussion but not a main point of enquiry.

Although Jakobson's categories can in theory cover verbal translation and interpreting work, this study aims to better understand what kinds of texts were circulating in the languages and literary registers of the Japanese archipelago during the Tokugawa period and so the boundary lines also fall around written works in print and manuscript.[38] The kinds of written texts covered encompass both interlingual translations between languages obviously distinct from each other like Japanese and Dutch, and intralingual translation such as that between classical and Tokugawa forms of Japanese.

The line between classical and Tokugawa forms of Japanese is blurred and it is also important to note that linguistic hybridization has been a feature of Japanese translation practices in history. In recent years the translation studies discipline has questioned the traditional 'source–target' language opposition and recognized that certain hybrid languages of translation may sometimes bridge the gap between the two. This is particularly pertinent in the Japanese case, as Judy Wakabayashi has argued when examining *kundoku*, the traditional method used to render classical Chinese texts into a form of Japanese–Chinese translationese.[39] The

[37] Reprinted in Jakobson 2000, p. 139.
[38] This is also because oral translation leaves behind fewer materials for the historian to study.
[39] On this issue and *kundoku*, see Wakabayashi 2005a.

written works covered by this study therefore include linguistically distinct source–target languages, as well as those involving what Indra Levy, in a study of translation in modern Japan, described as a 'tertiary language, one that is neither entirely "foreign" nor "domestic", but that clearly mediates between the two and may have a transformative effect on the target culture'.[40]

The texts considered are, for the most part, reflections of a source text in another linguistic medium that leave the majority of the storyline or substantive content intact (parody, for example is not the main focus of enquiry). In some cases, such as translations from Western-language works, the work authored in Japan is a reflection of more than one source text due to the practice of using translation to mine several Western texts for the one Japanese 'translation'.

Although the boundary lines of this study by no means result in exhaustive coverage of every conceivable kind of 'translation' found in Japan's early modern period, they offer a glimpse of the contours of the phenomenon, one which became increasingly prominent during the period. The chapters that follow trace in more detail how this played out in the contexts of Chinese studies, the reception of classical Japanese texts, and the study of the West. For most readers, translation in some form or other was necessary when approaching these works. The lens of translation also reveals a major scholastic and literary shift in register and social class that occurred during the period, as formerly elite texts were increasingly approached by new classes of readers through vernacular translation as well as simple commentaries, digests, and illustrated editions. The lens of translation brings these phenomena into focus, and demonstrates how important the study of translation is, or should be, to historians of Japan's early modern period.

[40] Levy 2008b, p. 3.

# 1 Language and society in Tokugawa Japan

The seventeenth to nineteenth centuries was a time of great political and social change that eventually had significant consequences for translation practices and language consciousness in Japan. The era of peace ruled by the Tokugawa shoguns saw a shift towards an urbanized, market-centred economy with growing rates of literacy, a commercial publishing industry and new modes of knowledge transfer. At the same time, translations were produced in numbers never before seen in the archipelago. There had been comparatively little translation produced in Japan prior to the Tokugawa period, whether for scholars or for readers with low levels of education. This chapter examines the processes by which the shift towards translation occurred.

## Urbanization

When Tokugawa Ieyasu (1542–1616) and his alliance defeated the Western daimyo lords at the battle of Sekigahara in 1600, they ushered in an era of peace that was to last for over 250 years. The 'Pax Tokugawa' marked a break with the chaos of the previous three centuries during which time the people of the archipelago had been buffeted by the ambitions of rival warlords. In the late sixteenth century, the warlords Oda Nobunaga (1534–82) and his successor, Toyotomi Hideyoshi (1537–98), had brought about national unification; but it was later, under the centralized rule of the hereditary shoguns of the Tokugawa house and their daimyo allies who ruled the domains into which the land was divided, that the archipelago became stable, urbanized, and bureaucratic. Distinctions between the 'four classes' of Chinese political thought – the scholar (in Japan, the samurai), peasant, artisan, and merchant classes – were strengthened, with profound effects on the social order. Fearing the power of landed samurai, Hideyoshi had forced them into castle towns in nearly every domain by giving them a choice between accepting salaries and forfeiting their landholdings, or retaining their land but losing their samurai status. The samurai class and their dependants comprised 5–8

per cent of the population of Japan and they were followed into the cities by a second wave of migration as rural villagers moved in the hope of becoming the merchants, artisans, and labourers in these new urban centres.[1] Between 1550 and 1700, Japan became one of the most urbanized societies in the world.[2]

The largest urban centre of all was the shogunal seat of Edo (modern-day Tokyo), which by the end of the seventeenth century had become what was in all likelihood the world's most populous city at the time.[3] This growth was partly due to the *sankin kōtai* 参勤交代 ('alternating attendance') system, which was made mandatory in 1635. This required that daimyo from across the country, more than 260 of them, reside alternate years at Edo and leave their families behind in Edo as a guarantee of good behaviour when they were absent. Their wives, children, and retainers, as well as people working in the industries that sprang up to service them, swelled the Edo population to over one million by the middle of the eighteenth century.[4]

The two other large metropolises were Kyoto and Osaka – Kyoto hovering between 350,000 and 400,000 between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and Osaka peaking at 425,000 in the middle of the eighteenth century.[5] Both cities had been important urban centres during the medieval period, and could trace their history back to at least the eighth century when Kyoto, or Heian as it was then known, was the capital and Osaka a centre of trade. During the early modern period, Kyoto remained a cultural hub, and became one of Japan's leading financial as well as production centres through riches brought by the silk processing industry.[6] In the early modern period Osaka overtook Kyoto as a financial centre when it emerged as the central rice market in western Japan and a major hub for the manufacture and distribution of other goods because of its location on shipping routes.[7] At the time, the three cities of Edo, Kyoto, and Osaka were collectively known as the 'Three Metropolises' (*santo* 三都) or 'three ports' (*sangatsu* 三箇津).[8]

## Provincial settlements and Nagasaki

Not all the action was occurring in these large urban centres, however. Provincial settlements, which included castle towns, lesser ports, religious

1 Nakai and McClain 1991, p. 526. 2 Nakai and McClain 1991, p. 519.
3 McClain and Merriman 1994, p. 4. 4 McClain and Merriman 1994, p. 13.
5 Hamano 2007, p. 38 ; McClain 1999, p. 75. 6 Nakai and McClain 1991, pp. 554–8.
7 Nakai and McClain 1991, pp. 558–64. For a more detailed study, see the essays contained in McClain and Wakita 1999.
8 Moriya 1990, p. 97.

centres, market towns, and highway post towns, ranged in population from a few thousand to over a hundred thousand.[9] Intellectual property as well as goods were exchanged in these centres. There is evidence of over a thousand private academies established over the course of the Tokugawa period in addition to over two hundred domain schools across the country.[10] Moreover, by pacifying much of the unrest that had plagued the land in previous centuries, and by constructing trunk and branch highways which were under shogunal government control, the Tokugawa regime created an extensive communication and transport system.[11] The development of large urban centres and the increasingly safe roads between them meant that people from various regions, and scholars of various disciplines interacted in person or by correspondence on a new scale. Students came from across the country to study with famous teachers in urban centres, and many others in the provinces communicated by letter using the postal service.[12]

Of particular importance to language learning and scholarship outside the three major urban centres was Nagasaki, the port town to which most foreign trade was limited from the mid-seventeenth century onwards. At the end of the sixteenth century, the southern island of Kyūshū, where Nagasaki is located, had been the centre of Catholic missionary efforts, including a printing press located in Amakusa, which produced many of the Jesuit translations touched upon in Chapter 4. In addition to the missionaries, Portuguese, British, and Spanish traders arrived not only at Nagasaki but at other port towns, especially in the south, including Hirado, where the English factory was based. After the Portuguese and Spanish traders were expelled following the expulsion of the missionaries, the English left of their own accord. However, the Dutch East India Company maintained a trading post on Deshima, the small, man-made island in Nagasaki harbour to which they were confined by the shogunate in 1641 in order to control trade and prevent the spread of Christianity. Chinese traders had been restricted to Nagasaki in 1635, and in 1689 the proliferation of illicit trading activities caused shogunate officials to confine the Chinese traders to a specially prepared community within the town limits; in the first year of its existence, 4,888 Chinese traders were moved there.[13] In addition to the traders, there were large numbers of naturalized Chinese living in Nagasaki as well.

[9] Moriya 1990, p. 97. [10] Rubinger 1982, p. 5. [11] Moriya 1990, pp. 106–14.
[12] See for example Ellen Gardener Nakamura's study of Takano Chōei's intellectual networks (2005).
[13] Yamamoto 1983, p. 212.

As the location of Dutch and Chinese settlements, Nagasaki became the conduit through which much of the information about foreign lands flowed into Japan from the mid-seventeenth century until the mid-nineteenth.[14] Though data for some years are missing, between 1624 and 1860 at least 5,887 Chinese ships and 727 Dutch ships called there.[15] The city became a centre of Chinese and Western language learning as well as a source of foreign news, books, and novelties. Hundreds of intellectuals and wealthy dilettantes travelled to Nagasaki to study with professional families of hereditary Chinese and Dutch language interpreters based there, or to acquire books and other foreign items for their collections.[16] Hundreds of Dutch titles came to Japan with the Dutch, many of which ended up in private or shogunal collections or were translated by eager scholars. Along with their trading cargo of raw silk, Chinese merchants at Nagasaki also brought books, from classical scholarly works to new types of vernacular narrative fiction that developed in the Ming and Qing periods, and which were eagerly consumed, reprinted, and mined for inspiration by Japanese readers.[17]

## Changes in literacy

The growing numbers of readers, who in the Tokugawa period for the first time became consumers of the written word, are one reason the numerous translations that are the subject of this monograph appeared. The relative peace and prosperity of the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries resulted in increased literacy rates beyond the court, monasteries, and high-ranking warrior elites who had been the traditional guardians of learning. Though readership is always a difficult phenomenon to establish, scholars agree that there was a steady rise in literacy, both male and female, throughout the period. At the end of the sixteenth century, those samurai who received any formal education did so at home, at temples, or in the homes of samurai tutors; in the seventeenth century this became increasingly systematized as domains began to establish schools for the education of the children of their

[14] There were other paths by which Chinese-language works came to Japan, including the Ryukyu Kingdom (modern-day Okinawa), which although a vassal of Satsuma domain, maintained a tributary relationship with China. On the history of Ryukyuan trade see the essays contained in Yamamoto Hirofumi Sensei Kanreki Kinen Ronshū Iinkai 1985, and Yokoyama 1987. Korea was also an important source of Chinese-language works in the seventeenth century (Kornicki 2013b).

[15] Data taken from Nichiran Gakkai 1984, pp. 51–9, and includes Chinese ships that were not allowed to unload their cargo.

[16] See the entries contained in Hiramatsu 1999.

[17] The seminal study on the importation of Chinese works is Ōba 1967.

retainers.[18] There was, moreover, a growing interest in education among commoners, whose children (usually the boys) might study basic literacy at private elementary schools known as *terakoya* 寺子屋.[19] Literacy was by no means uniform across the archipelago, and varied greatly over time depending on local contingencies and the provisions made by each domain. Urban centres like Edo, Kyoto, and Osaka, with their flourishing market for books and wealthy merchants would have had correspondingly higher levels of literacy. However, in rural areas as early as the seventeenth century the class of wealthy peasants from which village headmen were drawn were skilled in administrative literacy using *sōrōbun* 候文, the Sino-Japanese hybrid language of Tokugawa bureaucracy, and there is evidence that some were in the habit of borrowing printed editions of scholarly works and making manuscript copies for their private collections.[20] By the first half of the nineteenth century it is clear that at least vernacular literacy in the phonographic, cursive kana script had become widespread among both urban and rural populations.[21]

The educational provisions of domain schools and private schools were usually directed at boys, but the rates of female literacy in the samurai and urban commoner classes also increased.[22] The daughters of rural commoners were fortunate if time and circumstance allowed them to acquire some skill in reading. Samurai daughters, however, were expected to have a degree of literacy in Japanese phonographic kana writings and even certain of the Chinese classics; and the daughters of townspeople needed literacy in order to help with the family business. In addition to basic forms of female literacy among the samurai and educated urban commoners, some women from these classes who were encouraged by their male relatives to pursue their education further became active as literati and joined their male counterparts in establishing local Chinese language study groups, where they practised composing Chinese-style verse and held exhibitions of Chinese painting and calligraphy.[23] Female literati like the historian and writer of supernatural fiction Arakida Rei (1732–1806) and the Chinese-style poet and painter

18 Dore 1965, pp. 68–123.
19 Dore 1965, pp. 252–90. On rural literacy, see Rubinger 2007.
20 On village literacy, see Rubinger 2007, pp. 9–43. On manuscript copying in rural areas, see Kornicki 2006, p. 31.
21 Rubinger 2007, pp. 137–61.
22 For an overview of female literacy in the Tokugawa period, see Kornicki 2010b.
23 Fister 1991. On the rediscovery of women writers from the Tokugawa period, see for example Kado 1998.

Ema Saikō (1787–1861) left behind copious writings in Chinese-style writing and the vernacular.[24]

Though Saikō and Rei were accepted as part of literati culture by their male peers, the commercial print industry also catered for the wider market of newly literate women readers. Books aimed exclusively at women first appeared in the early decades of the Tokugawa period and by 1670 booksellers had included a new category, *nyosho* 女書 ('books for women'), in their catalogues.[25]

## Commercial printing industry

These new classes of readers provided the market for a commercial print industry; the growth of mercantile capital in large urban centres like Kyoto, Osaka, and Edo provided the necessary investment capital. Prior to the late sixteenth century, print technology in Japan had been largely confined to monasteries and the production of religious texts using woodblocks.[26] When Toyotomi Hideyoshi's army returned to Japan in 1598, following his unsuccessful attempt to invade the Korean peninsula, movable-type printing equipment was among the plunder they brought with them. This technology had been used by the Joseon state and this provided the inspiration for the shogunate and several emperors to commission print runs of mostly Chinese works, which were followed by printings of Japanese works.[27] In the early seventeenth century, print technology (moveable type but later mainly woodblock) was used by publishers eager to take advantage of the new market of readers, and who printed many works of previous centuries for the first time as well as commissioning new ones.[28]

By the middle of the seventeenth century the commercial publishing industry was a force to be reckoned with as publishers, bookstores, and lending libraries sprang up to meet the demands of new readers.[29] The industry was initially based in Kyoto, joined by Osaka, where the financial capital for the establishment of printing shops came from members of the mercantile elite. By the 1640s there were more than a hundred shops functioning as publishers of books in Kyoto, and the flood of publications

[24] Major studies on Arakida Rei include Sakaki 2006, pp. 115–21 and Sakaki 2010. On Ema Saikō, see Fister 1991 and Satō 1998.
[25] Kornicki 2010, pp. 23–32, at p. 25.
[26] Kornicki 1998, pp. 114–25.
[27] Kornicki 1998, pp. 128–43.
[28] On the printing of older works see Kawase 1967, vol. I, pp. 494–500. On the shift from moveable type to woodblock print technology, see vol. I, pp. 627–30.
[29] For an overview of the book trade in the Tokugawa period, see Kornicki 1998, pp. 169–222 and Berry 2006.

was so great that there was a need for booksellers' catalogues to help would-be readers navigate the waters.[30] In the second half of the eighteenth century Edo became a major centre of the publishing industry and gradually took over as the dominant centre of prose fiction. The large samurai population in Edo also provided a market for directories of shogunate officialdom (*bukan* 武鑑). In addition, the commercial publishing industry produced travel guides, maps, poetry, etiquette guides, Confucian textbooks, erotica, and all manner of printed matter. As we will see, translations for the benefit of new readers with low levels of literacy were also a feature of the industry from the late seventeenth century onwards.

## New modes of knowledge transfer

This sudden abundance of information was the result, not only of the mercantile capital and newly literate classes supporting a commercial print industry, but of changing attitudes towards the transmission of knowledge. Whereas previously learning had been transmitted via aristocratic or monastic lineages, and esoteric secrecy had been associated with profound truth and supernatural powers, the culture of secrecy came under attack in the seventeenth century.[31] In 1603, three years after Tokugawa Ieyasu won the battle of Sekigahara, and the same year that Ieyasu took the title of shogun, Hayashi Razan (1583–1657), who later became a shogunal government adviser and one of the most accomplished sinologists of his day, began a series of unprecedented public lectures on the key texts of Neo-Confucianism, and urged other scholars to do the same.[32] Razan also began to translate the sinological classics into a simplified form of literary Japanese in the hope that less-educated readers would benefit from the moral teaching contained in their pages.[33]

With the growth of Neo-Confucian thought, which included the idea that men should investigate the nature of things, many scholars no longer accepted uncritically the interpretive traditions of the past.[34] Though Razan was a major establishment figure, the majority of early Tokugawa Confucianists were from the fringes of samurai society or were not

30 Some of the one hundred shops functioning as printers produced just one book, most likely as a side line from their main retail business (Kornicki 1998, p. 174).
31 Teeuwen 2006, pp. 9–10. For more details see other essays in this volume (Bodiford, 2006) and (Nakai, 2006). On the medieval culture of secrecy, see Stone 1999, pp. 97–152.
32 Keene 1984, pp. 120–1; Suzuki 1999, p. 17.
33 Kornicki 2013a is the only major study of Razan's translations.
34 Burns 2003, pp. 46–7.

samurai at all, and they reinterpreted Confucianism so as to provide themselves with a code that emphasized meritocracy not status.[35] Likewise, the traditional medical establishment was based on Chinese medicine, but in the Tokugawa period Western medical texts brought by the Dutch became an opportunity for bright young men of humble backgrounds to get ahead through self study.[36] With classical Japanese texts too, traditional aristocratic lineages of transmission were broken as upstart scholars interpreted the classics for themselves, railing against not only the errors they had found in the secret teachings of the past, but what they saw as the smug exclusivity of the aristocratic class that had produced such flawed interpretations.[37]

The effects of this were felt not only among the more educated classes. For urban commoners, formerly elite classical texts became a source of self-improvement, and some were also translated for the first time.[38] In previous centuries, a Heian (794–1185) court classic like *The Tale of Genji* had been almost exclusively the intellectual property of aristocrats, both male and female, who held the manuscripts themselves as well as the knowledge that was key to their interpretation. However, in the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries, *Genji* was mined by authors of printed guides as a source of moral instruction and etiquette for young would-be ladies from samurai and urban commoner classes, and a complex web of euphemisms based on *Genji* allusion was used in the Yoshiwara prostitution quarters in Edo to obscure the less pleasant realities there. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, several Heian classics, including *Genji*, were translated for the first time into more readily accessible forms of the vernacular. Key Chinese texts were also mediated via printed and commercially available textbooks to help men (and in some cases women) study without the aid of a private tutor. These included translations of various types, which are discussed in more detail in Chapter 3.

This is not to say that the practice of secret transmission ended completely during the Tokugawa period. Aristocrats continued to capitalize on their cultural prestige and knowledge of classical poetry and prose works, teaching the shogun and other high-ranking warriors.[39] Many teachers who opened private academies were understandably protective of their intellectual capital and tended to circulate their work in

[35] This issue is examined in detail in Nakai 1980.
[36] Discussed in Chapter 4 of this monograph.
[37] Harper 1989, p. 116.
[38] On the boom in printed materials for private study and self-improvement without the need for a teacher, a useful study is Suzuki 2007.
[39] Rowley and Miyakawa 2005.

manuscript among their pupils, although it might later be published in print for a wider audience. Medicine in particular was one field where information was often kept only in manuscript. The reasons were not only financial: at least one author was purportedly criticized by his peers for making medical works too easily available through the production of simplified versions of complex Chinese source texts, the perceived danger being that untrained and unscrupulous persons might pass themselves off as doctors to the detriment of their patients.[40] However, it is certainly fair to say that secret transmission from master to disciple no longer had a monopoly on knowledge transfer in all fields of Tokugawa Japan and that a wide range of information was newly and easily available to literate people from the kinds of backgrounds who had never had access to such knowledge before. It is in this context that many of the translations discussed in this monograph became possible, for they rendered texts that had previously belonged to a select elite more widely accessible, and functioned as reading aids in place of a private tutor's instruction.

## Multilingualism

The large numbers of Tokugawa-period translations which are detailed in the chapters that follow belie the narrative of *sakoku* 鎖国 ('national isolation') that for many years characterized historiography on the period.[41] That is to say, the idea that Japan was 'shut up . . . and [did not] suffer its inhabitants to have any Commerce with foreign nations, either at home or abroad'.[42] Although, strictly speaking, 'national isolation' relates to trade and international relations, it also suggests a certain closed cultural homogeneity. Yet the new developments in Tokugawa literacy and the print industry, together with large and lively urban centres, meant that the period was one of great intellectual curiosity and linguistic variety. One result of this curiosity, the mingling of different languages and the need to mediate between them, was that translation became increasingly important.

Even ordinary readers or those with low levels of literacy came into contact with any number of languages and linguistic registers in daily life. Depending on one's education, there was a large variety of written languages and registers in use, including different types of classical Chinese,

40 Fujikawa 1941, p. 292.
41 On *sakoku* and historiography, see Arano 1994; Walker 1996; and Cullen 2004.
42 Engelbert Kaempfer's *History of Japan* (1727), quoted in Arano 1994, p. 84. The Japanese term for 'national isolation', '*sakoku*', is a neologism that was coined in 1801 when Shizuki Tadao made a complete and annotated translation of the sixth appendix of the Dutch translation of Kaempfer's work. On Tadao's translation, see Boot 2008 and Oshima 2009.

and *sōrōbun*, the hybrid Sino-Japanese style used for formal letters and official correspondence. The growing numbers of books imported from China also meant that narrative fiction with a high degree of vernacular Chinese content became increasingly available to the more educated Japanese readers. In addition, there were various versions of Japanese written using mixtures of old-style cursive kana (the basis for modern hiragana) with Chinese characters, or square-form kana (the basis for modern katakana) with Chinese characters, as well as native poetic registers such as those belonging to *renga* 連歌 (linked verse), haiku (properly *haikai* 俳諧) and *senryū* 川柳 (comic verse) to name but a few.[43] And all this is to say nothing of the mixture of spoken dialects – both regional and class based – that could be heard on the streets of large urban centres, and which were recorded with hilarious precision by works for the commercial press, like *Bathhouse of the Floating World* (*Ukiyoburo*, 1809–13) by Shikitei Sanba (1776–1822). Writing in 1723, one author of a vernacular translation of the classical Japanese *The Tale of Genji* acknowledged the different vernaculars into which he could have chosen to translate:

> Even within the so-called vernacular (*zokugo* 俗語) there are old versions and contemporary versions . . . The local dialects of the various regions (*kuni* 国) have their own particular vernacular words, and it is difficult for [people from] different regions to understand each other.[44]

Even those who were illiterate would have come into contact with a multilingual hotchpotch of dialects in everyday life if they lived in a town or anywhere through which travellers passed.

The awareness of linguistic variety was not limited to the contrasts between or within Japanese and Chinese languages. The beginning of the seventeenth century was the end of what has been described as Japan's 'Christian Century', when Jesuit, Dominican, and Franciscan missionaries from Portugal, Spain, and Italy, were still present, printing translations and gaining converts.[45] Even after the last of the missionaries were expelled in 1614, and direct trade with Europe eventually left only to the Dutch, the books brought by the traders of the Dutch East India Company became a source of information on the outside world, on European history, geography, medicine, and the natural sciences. Nagasaki-based interpreters and, later, scholars from other parts of the country studied the Dutch language, piecing together an understanding of its workings through painstaking reading, translation, and periodic encounters with Dutch speakers. Some of the earliest grammar studies

[43] For an overview, see Nakamura 1982, pp. 70–192.
[44] Taga 1915, p. 10.
[45] On Japan's 'Christian Century', Boxer 1951 remains one of the most useful sources.

in Japan are Tokugawa-period translations of Dutch works of grammatology.[46] In delineating the functions of Dutch words and considering them in the light of the Japanese language, Japanese scholars were forced to question the nature of 'Japanese' and 'Dutch' languages and thus made aware of abstract notions of grammar and language in ways that had not been common before.[47]

Nor was it only scholars who were confronted with differences between the domestic and the foreign. The main bulk of Dutch trade was in mundane items like sugar, cloth, and copper, but the fringe items that opened up new worlds to Tokugawa culture: books, of course, but also telescopes, microscopes, spectacles, kaleidoscopes, glasswares, clocks, toys, prints, static-electricity generators, candelabra, scissors, wine, sweets, flora and fauna, and penknives.[48] Known as 'strange devices' (*kiki* 奇器), these were widely appreciated and all cities saw the public display or sale of such objects where they could be handled so that it was not just the rich who had access to such novelties.[49] Even the man or woman on the street knew that there were far-off countries from which such items came and where the inhabitants spoke an amusing gibberish. If they lived in Edo or one of the stops on the route taken by the Dutch mission on its yearly pilgrimage to the seat of shogunal government, they could have witnessed first-hand the European foreigners on Japanese soil. The missions of the 'Red hair' (*kōmō* 紅毛), as the Dutch were known, and the fuss they caused during their stays in Edo were the subject of popular illustration (see Figure 1).[50] As will be discussed in Chapter 4, the translations that were made from books brought by the Dutch number in the thousands, and although these circulated mainly among scholars, they did so widely across capital and countryside.

## Translation and dictionaries

Unsurprisingly, interest grew in the question of how different languages and linguistic registers were related. As well as the grammar books, discussed above, one of the first types of 'translation' to come to the fore did so in the form of dictionaries or glossaries. The period saw the publication of the first dictionary of Japanese and a European language: the *Vocabulary of the Japanese Language* (*Vocabulario da lingoa de Iapam*, Jp. *Nippo jisho*), which was compiled by the Jesuits and published in Nagasaki in 1604.

[46] The first to be published in print was *Interpretation of Dutch Grammar* (*Oranda gohō kai*, 1811), translated by the medic Fujibayashi Fuzan (1781–1836).

[47] Sugimoto 1991, p. 54.

[48] Screech 2002, pp. 6–30, at p. 8.

[49] See, for example, the cover illustration to this book.

[50] Screech 2002, pp. 18–21.

Figure 1 Hostel for foreigners in Edo, Katsushika Hokusai. From Asakusa Shijin, *Illustrated Journey to the East* (*Ehon azuma asobi*), 1802, Waseda University Library

Older Chinese–Japanese dictionaries that had previously circulated in manuscript were made more widely available in print and numerous new dictionaries were produced both for scholars and for wider consumption in the commercial publishing industry.[51] As a result of the linguistic mixing that occurred in the large urban centres, plus the newly available Chinese narratives, there was a particular interest in vernacular languages, including dictionaries or glossaries of spoken Chinese, and of dialects from different regions in Japan. There were also dictionaries contrasting classical and vernacular languages. These began to appear in the eighteenth century and the most comprehensive were compiled towards the end of the period: *List of Courtly Language* (*Gagen shūran*, 1826–49) comprising 50 fascicles in 21 volumes and *List of Rustic Language* (*Rigen shūran*, manuscript, 1829) comprising 26 fascicles in nine volumes.

[51] For an overview of the history of dictionary production in Japan, see Okimori 2008, pp. 9–24.

Although dictionaries and glossaries – mainly of Chinese-character compounds – had circulated prior to the late sixteenth century, their number and availability increased from the seventeenth century onwards.

The mixing of different languages was seen in scholarship as well: scholars during the period were often active in a number of fields which traversed several linguistic boundaries. 'Dutch studies scholars' usually trained first in Chinese medicine, or, as educated men of samurai background, were schooled in classical Chinese. Dutch linguists, particularly those who were former Nagasaki-based interpreters, often translated Dutch expressions or parts of speech into vernacular Chinese in their glossaries and early dictionaries.[52] The Kokugaku scholar Motoori Norinaga was initially trained in classical Chinese, and many Kokugaku scholars were also aware of and interested in Dutch language studies.[53] There are examples of famous scholars who managed to traverse three or more linguistic fields, such as Arai Hakuseki (1657–1725), one of the earliest men of letters from the Tokugawa period to investigate Dutch, but who now is better known as a scholar of the sinological classics and also produced works studying the changing meanings of Japanese words over time.[54] Interest in different languages extended to the highest levels. The fifth shogun Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (1646–1709) gave lectures on the sinological classics at Edo Castle and on visits to his most important retainers. At these gatherings, which were often held at the Edo mansion of daimyo Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu (1658–1714), Tsunayoshi also had scholars give expositions on classics like *The Great Learning* (*Daxue*) and *The Doctrine of the Mean* (*Zhongyong*), and *The Analects* (*Lunyu*) using vernacular Chinese, and had them perform question-and-answer sessions in vernacular Chinese.[55]

Multilingualism and the study of words had of course been the province of the educated elite, who read both Japanese and Chinese, for centuries, but in the Tokugawa period the range of elite literacy expanded to include European languages and eventually led to new fields of translation and to an examination of language itself.

[52] Okada 1991, pp. 19–38 and Okada 2006, pp. 41–3. Okada is one of the few scholars to consider translation in the Tokugawa period from the broader perspective of more than one source language.

[53] Sano 1973, Sugimoto 1991, pp. 3–56.

[54] On Arai Hakuseki's linguistic research, see Sugimoto 1988.

[55] Ishizaki 1940, pp. 49–50.

## Language consciousness prior to the Tokugawa period

One reason for the growing importance of translation in Tokugawa Japan was an increasing awareness of differences between languages that were coming to be seen as belonging to other eras and, increasingly, as belonging to other nations. In Japan today, classical Chinese language and texts are often excluded from formulations of national language and literature; however, in the past, Chinese and Japanese written languages were both seen as options available to educated Japanese elites depending on context.[56] It was in the Tokugawa period that some of the first shifts occurred in the way in which classical Chinese and the Japanese language were conceived, prefiguring later rhetoric about the national Japanese language.

The pre-modern vision of written Chinese as to some extent belonging to Japanese elites, rather than exclusively to China, was partly due to the interconnectedness of Japanese and Chinese in history. Such has been the importance of Chinese texts in Japan that local languages, writing systems, and literatures are intimately connected with written, and to a lesser extent, spoken forms of Chinese. A number of early loanwords came into Japanese from spoken Chinese before the study of written texts, which began at the end of the fourth or in the fifth century AD; however it was through the medium of texts that the majority of sinified elements arrived.[57] This transfer took place by means of two modes of interacting with classical Chinese writing: *kundoku* 訓読 ('reading by gloss') and *ondoku* 音読 ('reading by sound'). *Kundoku*, which is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, is a highly bound form of translation, indicated by glosses affixed to the source text, and involves assigning (where possible) each Chinese character a Japanese reading and rearranging the sentence structure to conform with Japanese syntax. The circumlocutions of *kundoku* translationese, produced by following the glosses, went on to affect Japanese grammar and usage. *Ondoku* ('reading by sound'), on the other hand, involves vocalized Chinese characters in their original syntactical order using a Japanese approximation of Chinese pronunciation, and resulted in the intake of large numbers of loanwords from Chinese. Systems for writing vernacular forms of Japanese developed in tandem with such methods and literate elites continued to use both in varying combinations throughout Japanese history until the present day.[58]

[56] For a discussion, see Wixted 1998, Shirane 2000, and Suzuki 2006.
[57] On the sinification of Japanese, see Frellesvig 2012, pp. 146–50 and pp. 258–94.
[58] For a detailed and helpful study of this, see Lurie 2011.

The result of this blending is that there is not always a clear distinction between 'Chinese' and 'Japanese' in written materials from Japanese history, but a spectrum of possibilities lying between these two poles.[59] The 'Chinese' of works written in Japan, conventionally called 'Sino-Japanese', included in the category *kanbun* 漢文 ('Han language', which also covers Chinese written in China), or described as *hentai kanbun* 変体漢文 ('irregular *kanbun*'), often has linguistic and lexical peculiarities that distinguishes it from Chinese-character texts written in China. Furthermore, there were a variety of Chinese styles used in Japan.[60] The combination of Japanese and Chinese elements in any given text was a decision of style and register, and even the characters of a text originating in China could be read seemingly as Chinese using *ondoku* or as Japanese using *kundoku*.

The present-day links between language and nation in Japan, which often marginalize classical Chinese language and texts, are products of particular historical circumstances which stirred in the Tokugawa period. Benedict Anderson's theories are useful here, particularly his description of how, in antiquity, national borders were often less clearly defined, and how a common sacred language held together larger communities of states in the imagination of literate elites from those states.[61] For early elites in the Japanese archipelago, although they understood the Chinese language and writing system as having originated on the continent, classical Chinese was not exclusive to the nation of China but rather the common written language (or writing system) of a wider nexus of courts and communities dispersed across East Asia, to which early Japanese elites belonged.

Indeed, prior to the Tokugawa period, and to a large extent during it, differences between languages and writing systems were often, although not exclusively, articulated in terms other than that of 'Chinese' and 'Japanese' languages belonging exclusively to a particular nation state. Recent scholarship, for example, has highlighted the past importance of calligraphic style as a means of articulating the kinds of differences that might now be termed 'Chinese' and 'Japanese'. In the Heian period, '*mana*' 真名 (lit. 'true names') was a term often used to refer to writing in

59 Kornicki 2010a. See also Lurie 2011, pp. 169–212 who argues against the 'bilingual fallacy' of separate Chinese and Japanese literacies.

60 On the various 'Chinese' languages in East Asia and problems of terminology, see Kornicki 2010a.

61 Anderson 2006, p. 19 and Anderson 2006, pp. 67–82. The first edition appeared in 1983, but when citing content or quotes I have referred to the most recent, revised edition of Anderson's work. On the creation of the modern Japanese nation state, see Morris-Suzuki 1998.

logographic characters consistent with what we would now refer to as the Chinese writing system, and 'kana' 仮名 (lit. borrowed names) referred to the phonetic use of Chinese characters that had been abbreviated to create a local syllabary representing the sounds of Japanese.[62] Alternatively, Japanese cursive characters were described as 'the woman's hand' (*onnade* 女手) and Chinese characters as 'the man's hand' (*otokode* 男手).[63]

The absence of national–linguistic terminology in these kinds of schematics has led to suggestions that graphic terms such as kana or *mana* refer to styles of writing independent of any conceptualization of linguistic difference.[64] However, contemporary evidence shows there was in fact a sophisticated awareness of linguistic differences between texts even when the terms *mana* and kana were used. Rather, the absence of nationalistic terminology is surely better explained by the fact that as self-identifying members of the imagined community of what they saw to be the civilized world (i.e., geographical East Asia), early Japanese elites did not distinguish between such differences primarily in nationalistic terms.

Plumbing the depths of this topic would require a book in itself, but for now a well-known Heian example may illustrate the situation.[65] In the famous and richly informative 'Rainy Night's Discussion' passage from *The Tale of Genji*, Shikibu no Jō describes a woman who insisted on writing to him using logographic *mana* characters. 'No note from her' he recalls 'was ever marred by a single one of those kana letters, being couched in language of exemplary formality'.[66] Later in the same passage, women who write using logographic *mana* are described as unfeminine because their notes 'read . . . in a stiff formal tone'.[67] It seems likely that these women were writing in what people would now call the literary or classical Chinese writing system, although they may have been using one of the more localized hybrid forms of Sino-Japanese. In any case, their use of Chinese-style characters (*mana*) as opposed to Japanese-style characters (kana) is clearly associated with a particular sort of linguistic expression: 'couched in language of exemplary formality' (*mubemubeshiku iimawashi haberuni*) in the first case, and a 'stiff formal tone' (*kowagowashiki koe*) in the second. In other words, it is the underlying, vocalized language that is

62 See especially, LaMarre 2000 and Lurie 2011, pp. 323–34.
63 Seeley 1991, pp. 77–9. On the question of gender-specific literacies during the Heian period, see Mostow 2001.
64 See Lurie 2011, pp. 325–7, who argues that 'Graphic terms like kana or *mana* refer to styles of writing independent of any conceptualization of linguistic difference' (p. 327). In his study of the importance of calligraphy in Heian literature LaMarre likewise writes 'Heian writers never equated [calligraphic] stylistic differences with linguistic differences' (2000, p. 115).
65 For some other examples, see Seeley 1991, pp. 76–80.
66 Tyler 2003, p. 33.
67 Tyler 2003, p. 35.

at issue, though the text does not describe that language in national linguistic terms of 'Chinese' or 'Japanese' as would be probably be the case today.

The practice of referring to 'Japanese' and 'Chinese' in terms of calligraphic style continued into the Tokugawa period when translation was sometimes articulated as a change in script. This was the case with works like Kitamura Kigin's *Biographies of Exemplary Women in Kana* (*Kana Retsujoden*, 1655), which was a translation of the classical Chinese *Biographies of Exemplary Women* (*Lienu zhuan c.*77 BC–6 BC) into Japanese written with mostly cursive kana and some Chinese characters.

As seen in the Introduction, there were, however, other ways of referring to translation and these became more common during the Tokugawa period. A number of factors coalesced to effect the change: the interest in the study of language, political developments in Japan and other parts of East Asia that brought home the 'foreignness' of China, and a commercial printing industry that rendered the contemporary Japanese vernacular visible to an unprecedented extent. In the Tokugawa period, translation was a product of these changing concepts of language, as people turned to it as a mediator between languages they now perceived to be separated by time, cultural difference or both.

## The 'Japanese' language: translation and Kokugaku in the Tokugawa period

It has been said, not entirely in jest, that the difference between a language and a dialect is that a language has an army, navy, and an air force; a quip attributed to more than one famous linguist, which highlights the importance of the political criterion in defining a language.[68] Though nationalism and national identity in Anderson's sense arguably did not arise in Japan until the nineteenth century, nor was its rise inevitable, political developments in East Asia during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries did begin to reshape notions of 'Japanese' language and identity.

In the land that was increasingly becoming known to its inhabitants as 'Nihon', the new social order established by the Tokugawa shogunate was key to a nascent sense of modern national identity of the kind that was later linked to language by Meiji nation builders. During the transition from war to peace at the turn of the seventeenth century, the conquering general Toyotomi Hideyoshi, and Tokugawa Ieyasu who consolidated Hideyoshi's efforts, ordered surveys and maps of the archipelago,

[68] Burke 2004, p. 7.

collecting data on natural and human resources in every domain. By labelling and classifying this data and the jurisdictional units into which they fitted, the governing authorities projected a conceptual superstructure onto the disorder of a war-torn landscape. In the process they invented a new kind of public, one which was an object of official scrutiny.[69] They were also literally and figuratively charting new territory by such surveys. Most extant maps created prior to the seventeenth century cover only small units of private landholding and administration; in contrast, the Tokugawa shogunate commissioned and later published maps of all the domains together as a whole. In mapping the geographic outlines of their territory and putting in place administrative structures by which to extend control over this delineated area, they laid some of the groundwork for the modern concept of nation with sovereignty pertaining to a territory with more visible signs of demarcation.[70]

When the print industry grew to prominence in the seventeenth century, the categories imposed on the people newly scrutinized by officialdom and enclosed within the newly mapped boundaries of their territory became the organizing framework for what Mary Elizabeth Berry has called 'the library of public information'.[71] Maps, gazetteers, travel guides, urban directories, encyclopaedias, official personnel lists, as well as instruction manuals on all manner of subject from farming to sex – such publications for the first time gave large numbers of newly literate readers access to the cultural landscapes of 'Nihon'. By 'making society visible to itself', Berry writes, 'they conspired in the making of society'.[72] Never before had so many people from different social backgrounds been able to participate in something approaching a common Japanese written culture.

The creation of a reading public via the commercial print industry also contributed to a sense of a linguistic community, one that could be delineated against the communities of times past, and eventually against others present in East Asia. The commercial print industry contributed to this sense of community by rendering the contemporary spoken language visible in ways it had never been before. Earlier *monogatari* tale literature from the Heian and Kamakura periods did have links to the spoken speech of aristocrats; however these texts had circulated only in manuscript and among elites until the very late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. Records of lectures (*shōmono*/*shōmotsu* 抄物) had likewise captured the sounds of spoken speech during the Muromachi period (1338–1573),

[69] Unless otherwise noted, information in this paragraph comes from Berry 2006, pp. 54–103.

[70] On the direction this concept took in the Meiji period, see Morris-Suzuki 1998.

[71] Berry 2006, pp. 13–53.

[72] Berry 2006, p. 17.

but these also circulated privately in jealously guarded manuscripts and were a record, not of wider society made visible to itself, but of the notable teachings of important individuals, particularly from the Five Temple Complex of Buddhist institutions.[73] It was not until the development of a market for books catering to lay readers with lower levels of literacy, as well as for entertaining forms of literature aimed at capturing the funds of the newly leisured classes, that vernacular writing was circulated on a wide scale. Writers like Ihara Saikaku (1642–93) took the classical Japanese written idiom in new directions, studded it with words from contemporary Tokugawa spoken usage or attempted to capture the everyday speech of contemporary characters.[74] *Haikai* poets, most famously Matsuo Bashō (1644–94), began to incorporate the language of the everyday in their poetry, using contemporary vocabulary that jarred with the courtly lexicon of traditional waka (or 'Yamato song') poetics.

Inspired by the work of sinologists, particularly Itō Jinsai (1627–1705), Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728), and their students, discussed below, the Japanese literary language of the past was at the same time being delineated and investigated by scholars of Kokugaku (lit. 'national learning', often translated as 'nativism').[75] The instigators of the new style of commentary that challenged the secret interpretive traditions of centuries past, Buddhist monk Keichū (1640–1701) and an important thinker who his writings later inspired, Kamo no Mabuchi (1697–1769), distinguished between different periods of the Japanese language. They contrasted the language of Japan's eighth-century works of poetry and chronicles on the one hand with the language of the Heian period on the other. Mabuchi looked to the past in order to revive a poetic language that had its roots in the style of the eight-century anthology *Collection of Myriad Leaves* (*Man'yōshū*). Later Kokugaku scholars, most famously Motoori Norinaga, continued the project of creating a native language of poetry (and eventually prose) in this way but shifted their focus to the language of the Heian texts, *Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern* and *The Tale of Genji*.[76] Although they were following the philological approach of sinologists like Itō Jinsai and Ogyū Sorai, Kokugaku scholars sought to distance themselves from China and championed the thought and culture of an idealized Japanese past untainted by Chinese influences.[77] They attempted to reconstruct pure forms of Japanese and to forge new ones

[73] On *shōmono*, see Yuzawa 1955. [74] For an overview, see Nakamura 1982b.
[75] On the links between nativist scholarship, including philology, and of the Kogaku school, particularly Sorai, see Maruyama 1952, pp. 140–82 (in English, see Maruyama 1974, pp. 135–76). On links with Dutch linguistics, see Sugimoto 1991.
[76] Kazama 1998, pp. 24–9. [77] See Nosco 1990 and Burns 2003.

as a means of expressing the sorts of things that had previously been written in classical Chinese.

As newer forms of vernacular language developed and were made visible to literate society in print in the seventeenth century, their linguistic distance from older forms of written Japanese became increasingly clear. The translations of classical Heian works into the contemporary written vernacular which appeared in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries were in particular a source of obvious contrast. The early prefaces and forewords to the translations from *The Tale of Genji*, which are discussed in Chapter 2 of this monograph, are littered with references to the 'up-to-dateness' of their language, which is described variously as: 'the pillow words of the present day',[78] 'the vulgar language of the present day',[79] and 'the erotic language of the present day'.[80] According to an advertisement for *An Elegant Tale of Genji* (*Fūryū Genji monogatari*, 1703), the first translation of *The Tale of Genji*, a major selling point of the translation was that it 'takes the ancient babble' of the original and rearranges it in 'the straightforward words of the present day'.[81] The newness of such language was a selling point because it catered to a presumed market of contemporary readers to whom such language was 'the vernacular, which is close to the ear'.[82]

In addition to vernacular translations made for the commercial publishing industry, Kokugaku scholars began to investigate vernacular Japanese. In English, 'vernacular' can refer to a language, whether written or spoken, that is particular to the people of a certain place and time, but also to language that is perceived as informal or even colloquial, especially when compared with a classical or an elite language.[83] In the first sense, the classical Japanese of a Heian work like *Genji* is vernacular in that it pertains to Heian Japan and not to another people or region. In the second sense, some written registers of Tokugawa Japanese can be considered vernacular in comparison to classical Japanese because they are regarded

78 '*Tōsei no makurakotoba*' 当世の枕詞 (Miyako no Nishiki 1911, p. 487). Miyako no Nishiki, 1911 is a transcription in modern characters, which does not record the glossed pronunciation guides (*furigana*) in the original woodblock print edition. My transcription of the readings of characters is therefore based upon the facsimile reprint of the woodblock print edition, contained in Miyako no Nishiki 2008 (in this instance, p. 520). *Makurakotoba*, literally 'pillow words', is a technical term in waka poetic theory.

79 '*Imano yo no zokugo*' 当世の俗語 (Inoura 1972, p. 207).

80 '*Ima no yo no*. . .*iro o fukumeru kotoba*' 今の世の. . .色を含める言葉 (Inoura 1972, p. 204).

81 '*Inishie no chinpunkan*' いにしへのちんぷんかん and '*tōsei no heichoku kotoba*' 当世の平直詞. The advertisement may be found at the end of *A Genroku Tale of the Soga* (*Genroku Soga monogatari*, 1702). A transcription of the advertisement is available in Kawamoto 2007, p. 127.

82 '*Mimichikaki zokugo*' 耳ちかき俗語 (Taga 1915, p. 3).

83 For a discussion, see Somerset and Watson 2003, pp. ix–x.

as low or vulgar by comparison. As Somerset and Watson note in their study of medieval and postmedieval vernacularity in Europe:

> So mixed a set of meanings is possible because the relations 'vernacular' describes are often emotionally and culturally fraught . . . It can have a defensive air, standing as it does in implied opposition to a term suggestive of superior status: 'classical', 'elite', 'learned', 'noble', 'metropolitan', 'polite', and so on. Or it can encode different kinds of claim for prestige: either the prestige of authenticity . . . conferred upon the subaltern or popular through their very marginalization, or the more assertive prestige that comes with the successful displacement of the husk of the old by the vigorous growth of the new.[84]

These tensions are also found in early modern Japanese terminology. The conceptual distinction between written and spoken language arguably did not come to be articulated as 'written' versus 'spoken' until the language reforms of the Meiji period; instead Tokugawa theorists often employed a distinction between 'high' (*ga* 雅) and 'low' (*zoku* 俗) forms of language, which included not only differences between spoken and written language but differences of written tone and register as well.[85] The *ga*/*zoku* dialectic, which was applied not only to language but to concepts of literary genres and to the visual arts, was fluid and there were differences of opinion as to what was considered '*ga*' and what counted as '*zoku*'.[86] Broadly speaking, however, in the linguistic arena *ga* was taken to mean courtly, literary or formal types of language (including both Japanese and Chinese), and *zoku* correspondingly referred to everyday, vulgar, colloquial, or informal language.[87] In theory, these categories could include either written or spoken forms of language, although in practice written forms of language were more likely to be considered 'elegant' or refined and spoken forms more likely to be classified as vulgar. The language of *zoku* therefore corresponds roughly with the second sense of 'vernacular' in English, with the idea of a written or spoken language that is in tension with an elite form of language. In addition to *zoku*, other terms that were paired in contrast with the elite language of *ga* during the Tokugawa period included '*hina*' 鄙 and '*satobi*' 俚, both of which mean 'countrified'

[84] Somerset and Watson 2003, p. x. [85] On this question, see Furuta 1987.

[86] The concepts of *ga* and *zoku* were famously used by the twentieth-century scholar Konishi Jin'ichi in his magnum opus, *A History of Japanese Literature* (*Nihon bungeishi*) (Konishi 1985–92). However, Konishi identified the *ga*/*zoku* paradigm as a theme running throughout Japanese literature even in cases where these terms were not used by people of the day. For a discussion of a Tokugawa-period debate on *ga* and *zoku*, see Thomas 1994.

[87] There is much work still to be done on this topic. For an introduction, see: Adachi 1977. For studies of what particular scholars in the Tokugawa period considered to be '*ga*' language and '*zoku*' language, see for example, Suzuki 1965, Yuasa 1988, Takahashi 2006, pp. 85–91.

or 'rustic'.[88] This language became increasingly visible and an object of study during the Tokugawa period.

## Song Dynasty lexicography and language consciousness among Tokugawa sinologists

The new scholars of Japanese were not working in a vacuum, however. An interest in language – and eventually, an interest in translation – among Tokugawa sinologists had already been born of the encounter with certain late Song dynasty thinkers. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries Japanese scholars first encountered works by Chen Beixi (Jp.: Chin Hokukei) (1159–1223) and Lu Xiangshan (Jp.: Riku Shōzan) (1139–93) who had advocated the lexicographic study of Confucian texts. As a result many important Tokugawa sinologists began re-evaluating for themselves terms from the conceptual repertoire of Confucianism and East Asian philosophy. Beixi and Xiangshan's 'philosophical lexicographical' approach, to use Tucker's phrase, involved working through texts by focusing on the meaning of key terms. In the modern study of Tokugawa intellectual history this type of scholarship is most commonly associated with scholars from the so-called school of 'Ancient Learning' (*Kogaku* 古学), like Itō Jinsai, Yamaga Sokō (1622–85), and Ogyū Sorai, although their debt to Bexi and Xiangshan has not always been noted. However, when Beixi's *The Meanings of Neo-Confucian Terms* (*Xingli ziyi*, *c.*1226) reached Japan in the closing decades of the sixteenth century and Xiangshan's etymologically based critiques of philosophical semantics became widely available around the same time, their approach arguably inspired not only Jinsai, Soko, and Sorai, but also major sinologists of such varying intellectual hues as Yamazaki Ansai (1618–82), Hayashi Razan, and Kaibara Ekiken (1630–1714).[89]

As mentioned earlier, Hayashi Razan was one of the first to produce simple Japanese explanations and translations of key sinological texts. It is surely no coincidence that one of the earliest texts to receive this treatment at his hands was Beixi's *Meanings of Neo-Confucian Terms*.[90] It was in the preface to this Japanese explanation of each term in Beixi's text that Razan set out to provide a justification for his treatments of Chinese texts.

[88] e.g., *Poems Ancient and Modern in Rustic Language* (*Kokin wakashū hinakotoba*, 1796), reproduced in Gotō 1989 and the prefatory remarks (*sutegaki*) to *A Genji Telescope* (*Genji tōkagami*, 1842) (Kurita 1991, p. 5).

[89] Tucker 1993.

[90] *Vernacular Interpretation of the Meanings of Neo-Confucian Terms* (*Seiri jigi genkai*, completed 1639, published posthumously in 1659). On Razan's vernacular interpretations, some of which take the form of close translations, see Kornicki 2013a.

However, Razan's vernacular approach was not widely adopted, and certainly no other scholar followed his lead in closely translating the sinological classics into the vernacular for the benefit of less-educated readers. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter 3, but the failure to adopted Razan's approach was probably to do with the lack of central government support for general education, and the establishment of the highly bound *kundoku* method as the preferred means of approaching canonical Chinese texts.[91]

Although vernacular translation for the benefit of less-educated readers was not a method applied to canonical Chinese texts after Razan, translation as a tool for the benefit of scholars did become a recurring theme among certain sinologists inspired by Song lexicography. From the late seventeenth century onwards, those who advocated translation did so in the context of their attacks on the transhistoricism and transculturalism that had characterized previous understandings of the classics. Itō Jinsai, Ogyū Sorai, and their followers, saw translation not as a means of access for less-educated readers but as a tool of scholarly training, a means of overcoming the textual misunderstandings that had grown up over the years. Their focus on language and the interpretation of terms was inspired by the work of Chen Beixi and Lu Xiangshan, in particular Beixi's *Meanings of Confucian Terms*, a textual lineage which may be traced from Beixi's text, which served as a model for Jinsai's *Meaning of Terms from The Analects and Mencius* (*Gomō Jigi*, 1683) to Sorai's *Distinguishing Names* (*Benmei*, 1717) which was based on Jinsai's text.[92]

It was as part of his challenge to the ahistorical approach that had characterized Chinese studies in Japan that Itō Jinsai practised and taught a form of translation. He was particularly concerned with certain 'provincial (or "national") habits' (*kokushū* 国習) of reading that he perceived Japanese scholars to have brought to their understanding of classical Chinese over the years.[93] To remedy the situation, Jinsai, his son Tōgai, and the students under their guidance at their Kogidō (Academy of Ancient Meanings) practised translation from Chinese. They did so by first transcribing the translationese produced using the highly bound *kundoku* method, followed by a reversal or back translation of this transcription into the classical Chinese system. The resulting Chinese writing was then checked against the original Chinese source text for the kind of errors or inconsistencies that Japanese scholars might make when reading

[91] Kornicki 2013a, pp. 206–8. [92] On these links, see Tucker 1993.

[93] The information on Jinsai and Tōgai's methods comes from Li 2002. Li notes that other scholars, including Minagawa Kien (1734–1807), went on to use a version of this method, and that this continued into the Meiji period.

or writing classical Chinese. They called the *kundoku* transcription '*yakubun* 訳文' (translated text) and the reversal into Chinese '*fukubun* 復文' (returned or redone text), and put together examples of both for use in teaching.[94]

Jinsai's concept of language as it has come down to us thanks to his son Tōgai's editorial work, was based upon the notion that classical Chinese was separated from the present by temporal distance; he did not go so far as to treat it as entirely foreign. This is indicated by the choice of translation method: the highly bound, intermediate form of translation known as *kundoku*, in which the Chinese characters were associated with Japanese words and rearranged according to Japanese syntax to produce a form of translationese, rather than read as Chinese. Indeed, throughout the Tokugawa period the highly bound *kundoku* method, which masqueraded as 'reading by gloss' rather than 'translating', was overwhelmingly the preferred method for approaching canonical Chinese texts. After Jinsai there were scholars, most famously Ogyū Sorai, who treated written Chinese as a completely different language to Japanese, but their theories did not develop until the effects of the encounter with vernacular forms of Chinese began to make themselves felt.

## Vernacular Chinese fiction and spoken Chinese

Sorai's translation theories, and indeed a number of the translations discussed in Chapter 3, were in part due to the growing visibility of both spoken and written vernacular Chinese in Japan. Prior to the seventeenth century, most, though not all, Chinese texts imported to Japan were from the Buddhist and sinological canons, or were exegetical works associated with these traditions. However, in the second century of the Tokugawa period merchants from Nanjin and Fujian began to ship new types of works to the port of Nagasaki. These included informal histories, song collections, and Ming period novels that incorporated a high degree of vernacular Chinese content. Although words from spoken Chinese had been found in small numbers throughout the texts that had been imported prior to the Tokugawa period, from the eighteenth century readers increasingly came into contact with non-standard usages they had not been trained to deal with by their academies or printed

94 The Tenri University Library holds a collection of sample *fukubun* translations, including many purported to be by Jinsai himself, contained in a manuscript compiled, probably for publication, by Itō Tōsho (1730–1804), who was the third head of the Kogidō Academy after Jinsai and Tōgai (Itō 1770).

primers.[95] As discussed in Chapter 3, *kundoku* (reading by gloss) became established as the main method for 'translating' canonical Chinese texts; however, vernacular Chinese texts did not have the same aura of canonicity about them and were subject to a variety of translation strategies. Moreover, in the absence of established *kundoku* methods for dealing with vernacular expressions, freer forms of translation were the more practical option, and many translations and adaptations were made for the commercial publishing industry.

Although classical Chinese remained an important language for Japanese scholars, and the sinological canon a major reference point, this new visibility of vernacular forms of Chinese gave rise to an awareness of temporal and cultural difference that further brought home the otherness of contemporary Chinese and China. In contrast to the ideal and abstract world of classical Chinese works, vernacular narratives opened up the bordellos, kitchens, and saloons of contemporary society; as Pastreich puts it '[p]aradoxically, China became simultaneously both more immediate and concrete for the Japanese reader and more distinctively alien as a result'.[96] Moreover, the growing availability of these kinds of books coincided with the fall of the Ming dynasty to the Qing 'barbarians' of Manchu rather than Han ethnicity in 1644, causing many Japanese scholars to disassociate themselves from the idea of 'China' as the geographical centre of classical culture and to argue that they were the true inheritors of classical traditions.[97]

These trends were reflected in politics as historical ambivalence towards Chinese diplomatic authority again came to the fore.[98] Although in the Muromachi period Japanese authorities had briefly recognized Chinese suzerainty – the price required to trade officially – the Tokugawa shogunate refused to send the necessary tribute missions recognizing China as the superior power, and on the advice of scholars like Hayashi Razan and Arai Hakuseki were careful to refer to themselves and Japan in their international correspondence using terminology that emphasized Japanese parity with China. The shogunate did seek to discourage open conflict and allowed trade to operate outside of a tributary relationship, but old ambivalences about Chinese diplomatic authority were reasserted in ways that emphasized Japanese national authority and independence.

95 Vernacular elements were present from the very beginning in the Chinese Buddhist texts that came to Japan. Other early texts, such as *The Fairy Cave* (*You xian ku*, 660–740), a Tang period tale of the unusual, which came to Japan very early on, though written in *bianwen*, the elaborate classical style employing couplets of four or six characters, also included vernacular elements (Ishizaki 1940, pp. 177–8).

96 Pastreich 2011, p. 17.

97 See Nakai 1980 and Elman 2008.

98 Toby 1991, pp. 168–260 and pp. 53–64.

Japanese people were at the same time being exposed to Chinese as a living, spoken language due to the growing numbers of Chinese speakers in the land: émigré monks and scholars who had fled the upheaval caused by the fall of the Ming dynasty, merchants and professional interpreters at the port of Nagasaki, plus interpreters who assisted the Hagi and Satsuma domains with their trading activities.[99] As previously noted, Nagasaki in particular was a major centre of trade, scholarship, and language studies. It was the home, not only of the Chinese trading community but also of the Ōbaku 黄檗 community of monks, many of whom were fluent in vernacular Chinese. Ōbaku Buddhism, though not formally recognized as a separate sect until 1876, traces its origins in Japan to the arrival of the Chinese monk Yinyuan Longqi (1592–1673), who presided over a community of Chinese and Japanese monks at the Kōfukuji Temple in Nagasaki from 1654.[100] Numerous Japanese monks and laymen came to Nagasaki to hear Yinyuan's teaching, which spread from Nagasaki to other parts of Japan. The monks were allowed to travel and to found temples across Japan, teaching vernacular Chinese as they did so. Between the founding of Manpukuji, the head temple of Ōbaku located in Uji near Kyoto in 1661, and 1784 when the last Chinese Ōbaku monk in Japan died, almost all of the abbots of Manpukuji were Chinese, and had been invited to Japan by the shogunate for the purpose. It was only after attempts to bring over Chinese monks from the continent to replace the last abbot in 1784 were unsuccessful that it became the norm for Manpukuji abbots to be of Japanese stock.[101]

The Ōbaku monks and vernacular Chinese had a high-profile Edo-based supporter in the person of Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu (1658–1714), the most powerful of the daimyo in his day and the right-hand man of the shogun Tokugawa Tsunayoshi (1646–1709, shogun 1680–1709). Yoshiyasu developed an interest in spoken Chinese while studying Buddhism under a series of Chinese Ōbaku monks, inviting them to his mansion when they were in Edo. Records show that they conversed using the traditional *hitsudan* 筆談 (lit. brush conversation) method – that is to say, writing using the classical Chinese system. However, when receiving the shogun, Tsunayoshi, at the Yanagisawa mansion in Edo, Yoshiyasu began to include among the programme readings of the Chinese classics using vernacular Chinese pronunciation followed by a discussion of

[99] The classic study remains Ishizaki 1940. For a consolidation of scholarship since Ishizaki, see Pastreich 2011, pp. 48–53.

[100] Baroni 2000, pp. 24–7.

[101] The major study on the lives of Ōbaku monks in Tokugawa Japan is Kimura 2005. On the possible reasons why the shogunate was actively involved with bringing Chinese monks to Japan during the period of so-called national isolation, see Wu 2014.

points of language and meaning in spoken vernacular Chinese. These readings and discussions were performed by scholars under Yanagisawa patronage and the extent to which Yoshiyasu and the shogun could understand the proceedings is uncertain. Nonetheless, it is clear from these gatherings that prestige was attached to the ability to read and discuss the Chinese classics in spoken vernacular Chinese.[102]

### Ogyū Sorai and Okajima Kanzan

Yoshiyasu was the patron of many prominent scholars who were also present at these meetings, including the sinologist Ogyū Sorai, who was later to write some of what are now the best-known Tokugawa-period materials on translation. Much of Sorai's work was inspired by Itō Jinsai, but he took Jinsai's teachings about the 'ancient meanings' of Chinese texts one step further. Whereas Jinsai had been content with *kundoku*, the Japanese reading method that worked by associating Chinese characters directly with Japanese words, Sorai argued Chinese was linguistically distinct from Japanese as well as separated by many years from the present age; Chinese writing ought to be understood as Chinese, not poorly translated using *kundoku* methods, which in any case just produced another, more archaic sort of Japanese in the form of the old-fashioned usages that had become part of *kundoku*. If translation was to be resorted to as a teaching method, Sorai argued, it ought not to be the stilted language of *kundoku* but natural Japanese.[103] He described the attempt to understand Chinese texts through the medium of *kundoku* glosses as 'like scratching at an itch through a boot'.[104]

In the absence of native speakers of classical Chinese, Sorai advocated the study of spoken contemporary vernacular Chinese as the best means of drawing closer to the classical language. He founded the Translation Society (*Yakusha* 訳社) and employed Okajima Kanzan (1674–1728), a translator from Nagasaki, to teach spoken and written vernacular Chinese at regular gatherings.[105] At the same time, Sorai taught his students the meanings of Chinese terms using more natural-sounding forms of vernacular Japanese. Sorai's theories articulate a divorce between Japanese and Chinese languages in terms approaching those that are now identified with the modern nation state. He coined the expression 'the language of

[102] Ishizaki 1940, pp. 45–53.
[103] On Sorai's theories, the bulk of which are contained in *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*, 1715–96), see Tajiri 2008 and Pastreich 2001, which contains an English translation of the preface.
[104] Pastreich 2001, p. 147.
[105] On the activities of the Translation Society, see Ishizaki 1940, pp. 94–116.

the Chinese' (*Kajin gengo* 華人言語) to refer to Chinese writing, and in so doing was the first Confucian to formulate a term for 'Chinese language' that made it a specific language rather than a part of the greater universal discourse of literate writing (*bun* 文), that had joined the ancient imagined community of the East Asian cultural region.[106]

Although many scholars did listen to Sorai's call for the study of vernacular Chinese, his attempts to establish the use of new and fresh Japanese translations for Chinese characters were not widely accepted, and the archaic circumlocutions of *kundoku* are still taught in Japanese secondary schools today. However, Sorai's theories of language and the similar theories of his fellow travellers in sinology are evidence of changing consciousness of language, and did go on to influence new ideas about the Japanese language and translation among Kokugaku scholars during the period.

## Periodization of the Japanese language

To return to the Kokugaku scholars, inspired by the work of sinologists, in the second half of the eighteenth century these scholars combined their interest in the classical language of the past with the study of contemporary Japanese language, and began to incorporate translation as part of their academic repertoire. In particular, they investigated the distinction between contemporary usages on the one hand and the literary language of (usually Heian period) prose and poetry – a split that was in part understood within the *zoku/ga* dichotomy. The large dictionary, *List of Courtly Language*, mentioned above, was but one of a number of classical-vernacular dictionaries published during the Tokugawa period, beginning with *A Ladder to the Language of Genji* (*Gengotei*, 1784), a guide to the language of *Genji*, and this was followed by at least thirteen others.[107]

These dictionaries were intended as an aid for writing in the Japanese classical style, and also for composing poetry. They were also aids to studying the classics and were founded on the understanding that the vernacular language spoken by people in the present was different to the

[106] Pastreich 2001, p. 2001. Naoki Sakai has argued that the Japanese language and its 'culture' were born in the eighteenth century as result of the discursive practices of scholars like Sorai (1992, p. 335). Sakai's interpretations of Tokugawa-period sinologists, upon which he bases his argument, are open to question (Ooms 1996), but he was correct to note the significance of the eighteenth century in the history of the 'Japanese' language and the importance of translation in the formation of early national consciousness.

[107] The study of classical-vernacular and vernacular-classical dictionaries is a neglected topic. The most reliable and detailed source of bibliographic information remains Fukushima 1969. For a closer analysis of several major dictionaries, see Takahashi 2006.

courtly language of past elites and that mediation between the two was necessary. It was in this vein that Motoori Norinaga translated the eighth-century *Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern* into the 'vernacular language of the present day' (*ima no yo no satobigoto* いまの世の俗語), discussed in more detail in Chapter 2. Vernacular translation was, he argued, an even better means to understand the old poems than traditional commentaries. Norinaga likened the past to a distant mountainside: just as the leaves on a far away hilltop can only be seen with the aid of a telescope, so too the meaning of past texts could best be understood through the mediation of translation.[108] Other scholars followed his lead, making translations from *Genji*, and *One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each* (*Hyakunin isshu*, 1235), a compilation of famous poems from earlier anthologies.

By the end of the eighteenth century, consciousness of the links between time and linguistic change had led to the periodization of the Japanese language. In *The Language of Our Country from Age to Age* (*Kunitsubumi yoyo no ato*, 1774) Ban Kōkei (1733–1806) divided the history of the written Japanese language into three ages: ancient forms (*kotai* 古体), middle forms (*chūkotai* 中古体), and recent forms (*kintai* 近体).[109] Ancient and middle linguistic forms were based on the distinction made by previous Kokugaku scholars between the era of the eighth-century chronicles and the literature of the Heian period. Kōkei's idea of 'recent' (or 'close') forms of language was centred on the written forms of language of his own period that were close to the spoken language, though he acknowledged that in previous times some writers had aimed for a style that captured the sounds of speech to some degree. In 1821 Suzuki Akira (1764–1837), one of the foremost grammarians of the Tokugawa period, adopted the same periodization scheme, distinguishing between the 'vernacular language . . . of the present day' (*ima no yo no . . . zokugo*), 'classical language' of Heian period and prose works, and the older 'ancient language' (*kogo* 古語) of the earlier poetry and histories.[110] This championing of the local language and the bestowal upon it of a continuous historical past prefigure the modern idea of a Japanese nation state, continuous in history, with its own unique language and literary tradition. By giving the language a continuous history that stretched back into the mists of time, scholars like Kōkei and Akira were contributing to a sense of linguistic continuity, a continuous, eventually 'Japanese' lan-

[108] Motoori 1969, p. 5. English translation: Harper 1996, p. 209.
[109] Kazama 1998, pp. 55–70. [110] Suzuki 1821, 3r.

guage with the potential to be linked to a continuous 'Japanese' nation state.[111]

Like Norinaga, Kōkei and Akira's sense of historical change in language led them to encourage translation as part of their language studies. In *Translation for the Enlightenment of Little Children* (*Utsushibumi warawa no satoshi*, 1794), Kōkei attempted to forge a new prose for his day by translating Chinese into Japanese and classical Japanese into the vernacular.[112] Suzuki Akira compiled dictionaries of classical and vernacular Japanese and oversaw a published translation of a section of the *Tale of Genji: A Genji Telescope* (*Genji tōkagami*, 1842), which had been inspired by Norinaga's work on the translation of classical poetry some years earlier. In this way, translation became part of the repertoire of techniques used by scholars who studied the Japanese language.

## Translation and early modernity

By now it should be apparent that the growing numbers of translations that appeared in early modern Japan are linked to some of the key characteristics of the period that make the label 'early modern' itself appropriate, many of which Japan shares with other early modernities elsewhere in the world, most notably Europe. The growth of large urban centres fuelling the market and mercantile capital necessary for a commercial print industry catering to readers with lower levels of education, and the shift of educational power away from clerical and aristocratic elites; an interest in the classics, a growing awareness of temporality and linguistic change, and the rise of vernacular language were all factors in the appearance of the unprecedented numbers of translations which are examined in more detail throughout the rest of this monograph.[113] Moreover, despite the tendency to treat Japanese modernity as if it began in 1868, or was inaugurated by US admiral Matthew Perry's arrival in 1854, the prevalence of Tokugawa translation and the factors that gave rise to it are part of the background to what happened later in Meiji Japan.

None of this is to suggest, of course, that Meiji period modernization was at this stage a *fait accompli*. Far from being obsessed with future progress, much of the scholarly Tokugawa interest in the classics and in language, for example, was at this stage backward looking and focused on the language and literature of the past as a model and a mystery to be

[111] On the use of language and literary history by Meiji scholars see for example Brownstein 1987 and the essays contained in Shirane and Suzuki 2000.
[112] Kazama 1998, pp. 55–70.
[113] For a European point of comparison, see the essays contained in Burke and Hsia 2007.

fathomed.[114] Yet despite the fact that the 'early modern' characteristics of Tokugawa Japan did not necessarily mean that all paths led to modernity, it is worth considering the extent to which Tokugawa realities paved the way for Meiji ones. The flip side of avoiding the inevitabilities of 'modernization' theory is to articulate a discontinuity between modernity and the past.[115] In the case of translation, the Meiji period has been given star billing as the period when modernity suddenly gave rise to and was fuelled by large numbers of translations. The chapters that follow reveal that translation was if anything equally significant in Tokugawa Japan.

[114] In the case of the English word 'modern', Withington has posited that 'in its early incarnations the word depicted not so much the confident embrace of a progressive future as a recurring and retrospective dialogue with the "ancients"' (Withington 2010, p. 76).

[115] Withington 2010, pp. 2–3.

# 2 Classical Japanese texts

Perhaps nowhere was the Tokugawa-period shift in literacy and scholarship that occurred with the development of the commercial print industry and new modes of knowledge transmission felt more greatly than in the reception of the works of Heian (794–1185) and Kamakura (1185–1333) court literature. During the Tokugawa period, these came to be read, studied, and translated beyond the aristocratic and high-ranking warrior circles where they had circulated in the past. It was not only new classes of readers with lower levels of literacy who approached classical texts in new ways during the Tokugawa period. Translation was also a tool by which some scholars associated with the Kokugaku movement began to interpret and comment on the classics.

Thus far, studies of the early modern reception of classical Japanese texts have focused on visual culture and scholarly commentaries, with good reason, as these formed a significant part of the afterlife of Heian texts during the early modern period. Vernacular translations on the other hand, are largely overlooked or even unknown. Yet the classical works that were translated are among the most widely received and studied texts during the period: *Tales of Ise* (*Ise monogatari*, *c.*900), a collection of poems with brief stories attached in the form of headnotes; and *The Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari*, *c.*1008), a work of narrative fiction that contains 795 poems and had been considered *the* manual for poetry composition in Japan for centuries. There were also translations made of two poetry anthologies: the imperially commissioned *Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern* (*Kokin wakashū*, *c.*905, hereafter referred to as *Poems Ancient and Modern*), and *One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each* (*Hyakunin isshu*, 1235, hereafter referred to as *One Hundred Poets*), a compilation of famous poems from past anthologies. This chapter examines the environment that gave rise to the translations of these works, who the translators were, and the probable readerships.[1]

[1] Sections of this chapter are indebted to an earlier article by the author (Clements 2013), which appeared in *Monumenta Nipponica*. I am grateful to the editor and reviewers for their thoughts on the project.

## Developments in print technology and literacy

Developments in print during the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century were among the first important steps towards the wider dissemination of what are now considered the Japanese classics. Taking into account the lower levels of literacy among the new classes of readers, publishers produced many works which had glosses, headnotes, illustrations, and other interpretive aids.[2] They were also savvy in their choice of text: the works of the Heian court, particularly those involving a high degree of poetry, had been canonized by the medieval *wagaku* 和学 ('Japanese studies') tradition, and could now be marketed to the newly literate as a means of acquiring a modicum of cultural sophistication.[3]

Prior to this, classical Japanese works had been available only in manuscript and access had been limited to those who were able to borrow the precious, handwritten documents or to have copies made.[4] In practice this meant two classes of person: those of noble birth, who retained guardianship of their ancestral manuscripts, and high-ranking warriors with the military and economic clout to forge court connections. For despite having wrested political and economic power from aristocrats, Japan's warriors never sought to destroy the court or usurp its role entirely.[5] Instead they aspired to courtly accomplishments and were prepared to pay for them. Children of noble families, both boys and girls, were schooled in the family arts. As adults, men might become tutors to influential warlords or even the shogun, and noblewomen were on occasion used by their families to form marriage alliances with powerful warrior families. The literary arts were a particularly important component of these exchanges.

It was not only manuscript copies of the classics that changed hands through noble lineages but the knowledge required to read them. Works of the Heian court, like *Genji*, *Ise*, and the *Poems Ancient and Modern* anthology presented challenges due to their poetic content, which required specific knowledge and training to interpret. The complexities of *Genji*, for example, had required exegesis since at least the twelfth century when Fujiwara no Koreyuki (?–1175) began what is generally regarded as the earliest extant commentary by making extensive

2 On the history of interpretative glosses, including the Tokugawa period, see Ariga 1989.

3 On the medieval canon, see Shirane 2000, pp. 224–5. On the early modern reception of *Genji*, see for example Ii 2001, Suzuki 2003, Emoto 2007, Kojima and Komine 2008, and Shirane 2008a. On the reception of *Ise*, see Suzuki 2001, Yamamoto and Mostow 2009, and Yamamoto 2010a; on *Poems Ancient and Modern*, see Masuda 2004; and on *One Hundred Poets*, see Mostow 1996, pp. 23–136 and Nagata 2001.

4 Yamamoto 2011b.

5 The following discussion is indebted to Rowley 2013, pp. 16–17.

interlinear notes and marginalia on a manuscript of *Genji*. By the end of the medieval period there were more than a hundred distinct commentaries and the number continues to grow as more are discovered in the archives.[6]

Like the texts themselves, commentaries were limited in their circulation, and prior to the early modern period were passed down exclusively in manuscript or as secret oral teachings (*hiden* 秘伝).[7] Esoteric teaching concerning the interpretation of the *Poems Ancient and Modern* anthology was particularly valued and was communicated in secret from at least the thirteenth century in manuscript and oral form.[8] Such was the perceived importance of this tradition that in 1600 when Hosokawa Yūsai (1534–1610), at that time the last living initiate in the *Poems Ancient and Modern* teachings, was besieged in his castle, the emperor intervened.[9] Yūsai had been in the process of transmitting the secret teachings to two young aristocrats but neither was as yet a full initiate and the knowledge was in danger of being lost for ever. Imperial envoys went to the battlefield in an attempt to negotiate a surrender or a truce that would allow Yūsai and his precious knowledge to escape. Yūsai refused for the sake of his honour but after repeated imperial entreaties could resist the court no longer and concluded a truce in which he surrendered his castle to a third party and could thus pass on his knowledge another day. As this incident demonstrates, the intellectual property represented by knowledge of classical works was closely guarded by aristocratic, scholarly lineages.

Though classical knowledge remained an important source of cultural capital for court elites well into the early modern period, the class of persons who had access to classical texts widened in the seventeenth century when copies of texts and commentaries became available in print for the first time to newly literate classes of reader. Thanks to a steady rise in literacy among the samurai and commoner classes throughout the Tokugawa period, increasing numbers of readers, literate at least in kana, began consuming books, and these readers included women. Convention dictated that many of the translations from classical texts produced in the period contain claims that they were for ‘women and

6 Cook 2008, p. 130. For an overview of the *Genji* commentarial tradition, see Shirane 2008b, pp. 24–9. On commentarial traditions for other classical works see in English, Vos 1957, pp. 101–15 and Bowring 1992 for *Ise*, and Mostow 1996, pp. 28–39, for *One Hundred Poets*,

7 On *hiden*, see Morinaga 2005.

8 The *Kokindenju* 古今伝授, as these transmissions were known, also contained knowledge that was deliberately esoteric and as much about rights of initiation as it was about understanding the text. On the *Kokindenju*, see Cook 2000, pp. 1–54.

9 On this incident, see Rowley 2013, pp. 51–9.

children'. Although in practice they were read by men as well, female readers were an important potential audience.

The unprecedented availability of classical texts in various forms beyond traditional circles of knowledge became a cause for concern. Some scholars worried that *Genji* and to a lesser extent, *Ise*, might have a corrupting influence on certain classes of female readers.[10] As a work of fiction, *Genji* belonged to a genre of literature which had been looked down upon by Confucian teachers, and there was furthermore the problem of the 'licentiousness' of its subject matter, particularly the eponymous hero's affair with his stepmother the empress, doubly problematic for its transgression of filial and imperial obligations.[11] This was not helped by the fact that in the seventeenth century classical motifs began to make their way into ukiyoe ('pictures of the floating world') as artists adapted the famous scenes, parodied them or used them for inspiration in erotic prints.[12] *Genji* myth in particular became the 'icing over much less pleasant realities' in the Yoshiwara prostitution district.[13]

Concerns about the potentially corrupting effect of *Genji* were directed at female commoners. For aristocratic women, knowledge of *Genji* remained what it had always been: part of a proper education.[14] It was not until the Tokugawa period that it became possible for women of the commoner classes to come into contact with the texts in question. This was what sparked concerns in the second half of the seventeenth century among some scholars belonging to the 'Confucian' tradition, that the behaviour depicted in *Genji* and *Ise* distracted such women from their roles as wives and daughters.[15] By the middle of the eighteenth century, however, *Genji* had come to be regarded as beneficial reading even for non-aristocratic women and the 'courtly' ways depicted in the tale were offered as a model of behaviour for women by conduct books such as *Home Education Palace Collection for Women* (*Onna teikin gosho bunko*, 1790).[16]

In addition to problems of gender, increasing literacy rates also raised the issue of class. One reason that the classics needed to be translated was that the written language of the Heian court was far removed from the written and spoken vernaculars of the new readers who emerged in the early modern period, separated by both time and class. Thus the language

10 Kornicki 2005; Rowley 2010.
11 McMullen 1999, pp. 309–12.
12 Techniques known variously as *tōsei* 当世/*imayō* 今様 ('contemporary') and *fūryū* 風流 ('elegant perversion') at the time, and as *mitate* 見立て ('visual allusion') in modern scholarship (Screech 2009, pp. 257–63). See for example, Watanabe 2008 and Nakamachi 2009.
13 Screech 2009, p. 258. See also Niwa 2003b.
14 Rowley adds this nuance to the scholarship on women readers of *Genji* in Rowley 2010.
15 Kornicki 2005, p. 161.
16 Kornicki 2005, pp. 179–80.

and registers into which the translations were made may be described as 'vernacular' not only in the sense of being particular to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Japan, but also in so far as they contained a high degree of language that was perceived as informal or even colloquial when compared with the courtly language from which the translation was made.[17] The translators themselves often referred to the register of translations as *zokugo* 俗語, meaning 'everyday', 'informal', or even 'vulgar' language.[18] During the period, *zoku* 俗 was contrasted with *ga* 雅 – the elegant, courtly, or old-fashioned – and the language of the classics was perceived as belonging to this latter category when compared with the contemporary language.[19] As will be seen, to varying degrees the translators were forced to justify making classical literature available to a new class of reader by dragging elite and elegant texts into the everyday language of a less exalted realm.

## New strategies for new readers

From the sixteenth century, the upper ranks of the warrior classes had sought to clothe themselves with the cultural prestige of the court by receiving instruction in the *waka* ('Japanese songs') poetry tradition and the reading of *Genji* and continued to do so during the Tokugawa period.[20] Likewise, the new classes of readers who emerged in the Tokugawa period desired access to classical Japanese court works of centuries past, both for entertainment as well as a source of cultural prestige.[21] The most significant early printings of classical Japanese texts were the privately printed *Sagabon* editions of the early 1600s that were produced by the salon of the artist Hon'ami Kōetsu (1558–1637) in Saga, using movable type. These included *Ise*, the essay collection *Essays in Idleness* (*Tsurezuregusa*, *c.*1330), and the essay *The Ten-Foot Square Hut* (*Hōjōki*, 1212), as well as the *One Hundred Poets* collection. There are also extant printings of the *Poems Ancient and Modern* anthology and *Genji* which, though they contain no colophon, were most likely part of the Saga project.[22]

17 For a discussion of the meaning of the problematic term 'vernacular', see Somerset and Watson 2003, pp. ix–x.
18 See for example, Okumura Masanobu (Inoura 1972, p. 207) and the translator of *Murasaki's Writings in the Gibberish of Fisherfolk* (*Shibun ama no saezuri*, 1723) (Taga 1915, p. 3).
19 Nakano 1999, pp. 6–26.
20 Rowley and Miyakawa 2005. For a study of this phenomenon in relation to the Yanagisawa household, see Miyakawa 2007–12.
21 Kornicki 2005, pp. 148–52.
22 On Sagabon, see Kawase 1932 and Kawase 1967, vol. I, pp. 410–76. In English, see Kornicki 2001, pp. 131–2.

The *Sagabon* editions were highly decorative pieces of artwork clearly not intended for a wide audience, but in the remainder of the seventeenth century cheaper editions of the classics were printed in various formats, many of which included reading aids in the form of glosses or headnotes, as well as illustrations.[23] *Ise* became the most commonly printed classical work of the Tokugawa period, a popular format being to include the text of *Ise* together with other classics such as the *Poems Ancient and Modern* anthology, or extracts from *Genji*, as well as with more recent works.[24] Likewise, cheaper editions of *Genji* were printed in various formats, many of which also included reading aids in the form of glosses or headnotes.[25] Other classical texts that were printed and reprinted often during the period include *Essays in Idleness* (approximately forty printings from 1595 onwards), *Poems Ancient and Modern* (thirty-five printings from 1654), and the *One Hundred Poets* anthology.[26] The secularization of print and the use of print technology for producing editions of the Japanese classics meant that for the first time it was possible for readers outside court circles and the upper levels of the warrior class to get hold of a copy.

In addition to the texts themselves, commentaries also became more widely available during the early modern period. Probably the first to do so was *Untested Gleanings from Tales of Ise* (*Ise monogatari ketsugishō*, 1596) by Hosokawa Yūsai, the warrior scholar whose valuable knowledge of *Poems Ancient and Modern* had caused so much imperial concern when his castle was besieged. The earliest printing of *Untested Gleanings* most likely appeared during Yūsai's lifetime (1534–1610). This was closely followed by a printed edition of a fifteenth-century *Ise* commentary by Botanka Shōhaku (1443–1527).[27] These printings of texts that had formerly circulated in manuscript were followed in the middle of the century by printed works that repackaged for a general audience the contents of lectures on *Ise* that had been given to the imperial family.[28]

23 Kawase 1967, vol. I, pp. 494–626; Inoue 1999. On specific texts, see also Yamamoto 2011a (*Ise*); Shimizu 2003 (*Genji*); Kawakami 1999, Kawakami 2000, and Kawakami 2001 (*Poems Ancient and Modern*); and Yuzawa 1994 (*One Hundred Poets*).

24 e.g., *Poems Ancient and Modern and Tales of Ise* (*Kokin wakashū Isemonogatari*, 1699), *New Edition of Tales of Ise* (*Ise monogatari kaisei*, 1698), and *New Printing of Tales of Ise with Illustration* (*Shinpan eiri Ise monogatari*, 1715) (Katagiri 1994, p. 174). On early printed editions of *Ise*, see Kawase 1932, pp. 23–41 and Kawase 1967, vol. I, pp. 508–9.

25 Shimizu 2003.

26 For details of printed editions of *Essays in Idleness*, see Saitō 1999; for *Poems Ancient and Modern*, Kawakami 1999, Kawakami 2000, and Kawakami 2001; and for *One Hundred Poets*, Yuzawa 1994 and Yoshikai 1999.

27 *Gleanings from Shōhaku's Lecture Notes on Tales of Ise* (*Ise monogatari shōmonshō*, *c.*1491).

28 On *Ise* commentaries in print, see Yamamoto 2010b, p. 136.

*Genji* commentaries also appeared in print when three versions of the text with commentary were published, the first appearing in 1663.[29] The most widely circulated of these was *The Moon on the Lake Commentary* (*Kogetsushō*, 1673). Those who could afford the hefty price tag were able to own the original with selected notes from some of the major medieval commentaries.[30]

Many of the so-called 'new commentaries' (*shinchū* 新注・新註), which followed the pioneering work of the scholar monk Keichū, were also available in print from the eighteenth century onwards.[31] These new-style commentaries represented a break with past traditions and the application of new methodologies to classical texts. With the growth of Neo-Confucian thought in the seventeenth century, which included the idea that men should investigate the nature of things, scholars no longer accepted uncritically the interpretive traditions of the past. From the late seventeenth century onwards there was a series of attacks on the unquestioned transhistoricism and transculturalism that had characterized previous understandings of classical texts.[32] The 'new commentaries' that were written as a result dispensed with many of the received interpretations that had been so closely guarded in centuries past and were now revealed to be of little usefulness for actually understanding the texts. Instead, scholars turned to the texts afresh to re-examine the contents in light of developing understandings of classical language and literature.[33]

However, many commentaries continued to circulate only in manuscript. Moreover, while scholars had the training to grapple with classical texts and commentaries or teachers to whom they could turn for guidance, this was not the case for readers who, for reasons of gender, class, interest, or finance, did not pursue more than a basic education. By the Tokugawa period, the language and literary complexities of the classical works were so far removed from the contemporary written and spoken vernaculars, and involved such a high degree of esoteric knowledge, that the newly emerged readers with lower levels of literacy required mediation in some form. Many of the printed editions mentioned above were illustrated and there were also printed works that consisted mainly of illustration, just as there had been expensive, hand-drawn picture books (*gajō* 画帖) for aristocratic consumption in the past. These were 'translations' of

29 *Drop in the Ocean* (*Bansui ichiro*, completed, 1575, published 1663), *The Tale of Genji with Headnotes* (*Shusho/kashiragaki Genji monogatari* completed 1640, published 1673) and *The Moon on the Lake Commentary* (*Kogetsushō*, published 1673).

30 On the pricing of this work, see Kornicki 2007, p. 69.

31 See e.g., Ōtsu 1954, pp. 539–666.

32 Burns 2003, pp. 46–67.

33 Useful studies of this phenomenon include Nosco 1990, McMullen 1999, and Harper 1989.

an inter-semiotic type.[34] There were also simplified editions of scholarly commentaries, such as *Coming of Age with Tales of Ise* (*Ise monogatari uikaburi*, printed 1660), which reproduced the contents of Yūsai's commentary with explanatory headnotes and chapter summaries, and commentaries that were aimed at women. It was in this spirit that several of the classical Japanese translations that are the subject of this chapter were produced. As we will see, many writers who translated classical texts positioned their work as an alternative form of commentary for less educated readers.

*Genji* was by far the longest of the classical works and arguably presented the greatest interpretive challenges. In addition to the poetic content, the writing style of *Genji* is such that pronouns are rarely used and verb subjects or objects are identified by a complex system of honorifics; characters are usually referred to by their familial relationships or by official titles that change as time passes in the story. For readers who could not afford the 62-volume *Moon on the Lake Commentary*, or who wished for something even simpler than one of the more basic commentaries, there was the option of purchasing one of the many *Genji* digest editions published from the early seventeenth century onwards which could also be borrowed from a lending library.[35] *Genji* digests had existed for aristocratic readers in manuscript since the Kamakura period, but like so many other texts came to be printed and available to commoners during the Tokugawa. *A Little Mirror of The Tale of Genji* (*Genji kokagami*), a highly abbreviated digest that focuses only on the major poems from *Genji*, dates from the fourteenth century but became one of the most widely read and reprinted digests of the early modern period.[36]

*Genji* digests were also written during the Tokugawa period for the commercial publishing industry. Two of the most widely circulated were *Genji in Ten Books* (*Jūjō Genji*, 1661), and *A Young Genji* (*Osana Genji*, 1666), both by the haikai poet Nonoguchi Ryūho (1595–1669).[37] Both these texts are an early type of *Genji* translation, albeit of a highly abbreviated kind. *Genji in Ten Books*, the longer of the two, contains extracts from the story with short explanations of content and key terms; *A Young Genji* rewrites the gist of the story based upon a simplified and abbreviated version of the explanations contained in *Genji in Ten Books*, minus the abbreviated quotes from *Genji*.[38] Though digests are a form of translation, it should be noted that their methodology involved considerably more abbreviation than the works examined in detail later in this

[34] e.g., Yoshida 1987. [35] Kornicki 2007, p. 69. [36] Yoshida 1987, pp. 323–43.
[37] Yoshida 1987, pp. 194–322.
[38] These two works are reprinted in Nakano 1989–90, vols. X–XII.

chapter.[39] The aim of digests was to inform a reader of the outlines of the *Genji* story as economically as possible, whereas the longer translations functioned as a lengthy narrative reading experience that mirrored the act of reading *Genji*, or other classical texts themselves.[40]

Depending on how wide the net is cast, altogether there are seventeen longer translations of classical texts, in whole or in part, that may be dated with certainty to the Tokugawa period (see Table 2).[41] *Genji* was translated the most frequently, with ten versions extant in manuscript or in print, followed by three translations of the *One Hundred Poets* anthology, two of *Ise*, and two of *Poems Ancient and Modern*. The translations of *One Hundred Poets, Ise*, and *Poems Ancient and Modern* attempt to cover each source text in its entirety, with the exception of one of the *Ise* translations, which omits some episodes. At many times the length of these works, *Genji* presented a considerable challenge to the would-be translator, and so most of the *Genji* translations are partial renderings of the first few chapters. However, there appear to have been three attempts to translate *Genji* in full: *Murasaki's Writings in the Gibberish of Fisherfolk* (*Shibun ama no saezuri*, 1723) that includes up to the forty-ninth chapter and is incomplete due to the death of the translator; *A Vernacular Interpretation of the Moon on the Lake Commentary* (*Kogetsushō genkai*, undated manuscript), which is currently missing some chapters but may have been complete; and *A Hand Skein for the Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari shizu no odamaki*, 1848), which likewise seems to have been complete, though the longest extant manuscript edition is now missing some volumes.[42]

Though they encompass a variety of approaches, these translations share a methodology in which the broad outlines of the source text are preserved and the transfer from classical Japanese to written forms of Tokugawa vernacular language takes place with a higher degree of narrative detail than digests. There had been abridged, digest translations of

39 For a brief comparison of the methodologies of digest and two of the longer *Genji* translations, see Niwa 2003a, pp. 32–4.

40 See for example *A Little Mirror for The Tale of Genji*. The preface to the 1751 edition, one of the few editions to articulate the project in direct terms, describes it as 'abbreviating the contents of the [source] chapters' (*makimaki no kokoro o tsuzumeshirushi* 巻〵〳の心をつゝしるし) (Ii 2001, p. 145). Likewise, the afterword to *Genji in Ten Books*, says the author hoped that if he 'wrote out extracts of various parts the result would be easy to read' (*tokorodokoro kakinuki haberaba meyasukaran to* 所々書ぬき侍らはめやすからんと) (reprinted in Ii 2001, p. 397).

41 A list of early modern *Genji* translations and adaptations was first compiled by the modern scholar Fujita Tokutarō (Fujita 1932, pp. 88–95).

42 Fujita also records a fourth, 'unseen' (*miken* 未見) text which may possibly have been a complete translation: *A Popularized Tale of Genji* (*Tsūzoku Genji monogatari*, undated manuscript) in 54 vols. by Kobayashi Motoari (1760–95) (Fujita 1932, p. 92). However, this work does not seem to have survived.

Table 2 *Vernacular translations of classical Japanese texts in Tokugawa Japan*

| Title | Translation of | Translator | Contents | Manuscript | Print |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Tales of Ise in Plain Language (Ise monogatari hirakotoba)* 2 vols.[43] | *Tales of Ise (Ise monogatari)* | Ki Zankei | All episodes | | 1678 |
| *An Elegant Tale of Genji* (*Fūryū Genji monogatari*), 6 vols.[44] | *The Tale of Genj* (*Genji monogatari*) | Miyako no Nishiki | Chapter 1 (Kiritsubo) – Chapter 2 (Hahakigi) as far as the Rainy Night's discussion | | 1703 |
| *A Young Sprout's Tale of Genji* (*Wakakusa Genji monogatari*), 6 vols.[45] | *Tale of Genji* | Baiō | Chapter 2 (Hahakigi), from the end of the Rainy Night's Discussion – Chapter 4 (Yūgao) | | 1707 |
| *A Fledgling's Tale of Genji* (*Hinazuru Genji monogatari*), 6 vols.[46] | *Tale of Genji* | Baiō | Chapter 5 (Wakamurasaki) – Chapter 6 (Suetsumuhana) | | 1708 |
| *Autumn Leaf and Cherry Blossom Tale of Genji* (*Kōhaku Genji monogatari*), 6 vols.[47] | *Tale of Genji* | Baiō | Chapter 7 (Momiji no ga) – Chapter 7 (Hana no en) | | 1709 |
| *A Vernacular Interpretation of the Tale of Genji* (*Zokuge Genji monogatari*), 6 vols.[48] | *Tale of Genji* | Baiō | Chapter 1 (Kiritsubo) – Chapter 2 (Hahakigi) from Rainy Night's Discussion | | 1710 |
| *Murasaki's Writings in the Gibberish of Fisherfolk* (*Shibun ama no saezuri*), 72 vols.[49] | *Tale of Genji* | Taga Hanshichi | Manuscript: Chapter 1 (Kiritsubo) – data unknown Chapter 49 | | 1723 |

43 Available in modern transcription in Ki 1991.
44 Available in facsimile and modern transcription: Miyako no Nishiki 2008; Miyako no Nishiki 1911.
45 This work is not available in any complete modern transcription or facsimile reprint. Several copies of the woodblock print edition are available (e.g., Okumura 1707). There is a modern transcription (not wholly accurate) of the two prefaces with discussion in Inoura 1972.
46 Not available in modern transcription or facsimile. An incomplete woodblock print edition with a preface dated 1708 is held by the Waseda University Library (Okumura 1708), and a complete edition dated 1721 is held by the National Diet Library (Okumura 1721a).
47 Available in modern transcription (Okumura 1911).
48 Unavailable either in modern transcription or facsimile. No first editions of the woodblock print appear to have survived but the National Diet Library holds at least one woodblock print of a 1721 edition, preface dated 1710 (Okumura 1721b). It is possible that the work was completed by 1710 but not printed until 1721. Fujita's bibliography lists *A Vernacular Interpretation of the Tale of Genji* as published in 1710 (Fujita 1932, p. 89).
49 Available in a modern transcription of the woodblock edition and in microfilm copy of the complete manuscript (Taga 1915 and Taga 1980).

| | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | | (Yadorigi) Print: Chapter 1 (Kiritsubo) – Chapter 3 (Utsusemi) | | |
| *The Man from the Past in the Form of Today* (*Mukashi otoko imayō sugata*), 5 vols.[50] | *Tales of Ise* | Miyake Yarai | Episodes 1–24,39, 48–50, 52, 58, 60, 63, 69, 81, 84, 99, 107, 114, 117, 125 | | 1731 |
| *A Telescope for the Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern* (*Kokinshū tōkagami)*, 6 vols.[51] | *Poems Ancient and Modern (Kokinshū*) | Motoori Norinaga | Complete | 1793 | 1797 |
| *Poems Ancient and Modern in Rustic Language* (*Kokin wakashū hinakotoba)*, 3 vols.[52] | *Poems Ancient and Modern* | Ozaki Masayoshi | Complete | | 1796 |
| *A Walk Through the Ogura One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each Mountain* (*Hyakunin isshū Ogura no yamabumi*), 1 vol.[53] | *One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each* (*Hyakunin isshu)* | Nakatsu Motoyoshi | Complete | | 1801 |
| *A Ladder to the Peak of One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each* (*Hyakunin isshū mine no kakehashi*), 2 vols.[54] | *One Hundred Poets* | Kinugawa Nagaaki | Complete | | 1806 |
| *A Catalpa Bow for the One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each* (*Hyakunin isshū azusa yumi*), 1–2 vols.[55] | *One Hundred Poets* | Motoori Ōhira | Complete | | 1810 |

[50] A reprint in modern characters is available in Miyake 1991.
[51] A reprint in modern characters is available in Motoori 1969.
[52] Facsimile reprint and reprint in modern characters available in Gotō 1989, vol. I.
[53] Modern character edition available in Nagata 2001.
[54] Modern character edition available in Nagata 2001.
[55] There are numerous variant manuscripts of this work. Modern character editions of the major ones are available in Nagata 2001.

Table 2 (*cont.*)

| Title | Translation of | Translator | Contents | Manuscript | Print |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *A Vernacular Interpretation of the Moon on the Lake Commentary* (*Kogetsushō genkai*), 44 vols.[56] | *Tale of Genji* | Unknown | Chapter 1 (Kiritsubo) – Chapter 54 (Yume no ukihashi) | *c*.1811–12? | |
| *A Genji Telescope* (*Genji tōkagami*), 2 vols.[57] | *Tale of Genji* | Kurita Naomasa | Chapter 5 (Wakamurasaki) | | 1840 |
| *A Hand Skein for the Tale of Genji* (*Genji monogatari shizu no odamaki*), 40 vols.[58] | *Tale of Genji* | Kuwahara Yukinori | Chapter 1 (Kiritsubo) – Chapter 54 (Yume no ukihashi) | 1848 | |
| *Genji in Rustic Language* (*Genji hinakotoba*), 1 vol.[59] | *Tale of Genji* | Usuki Umehiko | Chapter 1 (Kiritsubo) | 1851 | |

56 The only known copy, a manuscript, is held in the Tōen Bunko collection of the Tōkai University Library (*Kogetsushō genkai* (n.d.)). The 'Utsusemi' through to the 'Wakamurasaki', 'Hatsune', 'Makibashira', and 'Wakana jō/ge' chapters are missing, possibly lost.

57 Available in facsimile: Kurita 1991.

58 The only extant copies are two manuscripts in Yukinori's own hand, held by the Miyagi Prefectural Library. One is a complete translation, dated 1848, from which volumes 32 and 33 have been lost (Kuwabara 1848), and the other, an undated copy of the Kiritsubo chapter only (Kuwabara (n.d.)).

59 The only known copy, a manuscript draft, is held by the National Diet Library (Usuki 1851).

classical works before and traditional commentaries involved elements of intralingual rewording; however, it was not until the eighteenth century that longer translations appeared.

## Translations for the commercial publishing industry

The first of these longer, more detailed translations of classical Japanese texts were published as part of the print industry's efforts to produce readable works of narrative fiction for the commercial market. Works that parodied the classics or mined them for the material to create new texts had existed as early as the 1630s. The style of *Ise*, for example, was neatly skewered in *A Fake Tales of Ise* (*Nise monogatari*, 1636–9) and there were several parodies of the *One Hundred Poets*.[60] Then, towards the end of the seventeenth century commercial authors like Nishizawa Ippū (1665–1731), inspired by the painterly practice of classical allusion, began to enrich their writing by including storylines, characters, and motifs from classical works alongside contemporary elements; the classical text providing a framework from which to hang a 'new' work of narrative fiction.[61] Among the most famous examples of textual hybridity that later resulted are *The Life of an Amorous Man* (*Kōshoku ichidai otoko*, 1682) by Ihara Saikaku (1642–93), and *A Fraudulent Murasaki's Bumpkin Genji* (*Nise Murasaki inaka Genji*, 1829) by Ryūtei Tanehiko (1783–1842).[62] Both of these are based loosely on *Genji* and were among the most widely read works of fiction in the early modern period.

It is to this hybrid tradition as well as the market for classical reading aids that the earliest vernacular translations belong. These works, which date from 1678 to 1710, were produced for the consumption of readers with lower levels of literacy by men who earned money as writers and professional illustrators. Illustrated and printed with *furigana* (i.e., glossed kana) guides to pronunciation given for all but the simplest Chinese characters, these works were intended to be read for entertainment, but also included a variety of commentarial strategies designed to educate readers about the classical texts in question.[63] In some, the glosses were also used playfully according to contemporary practices in the commercial

[60] Moretti 2010; Mutō 1998.
[61] Hasegawa 1969, pp. 75–8. For further particulars on the history of *fūryū*, see Okazaki 1947, pp. 304–61. For other *fūryū* works from this period which adopted a similar combination of old and new, see pp. 325–30.
[62] On *A False Murasaki*, see Emmerich 2008, 2013.
[63] For details, see Clements 2011, and the more in-depth study contained in Clements 2013.

publishing industry, functioning both as a source of information and of humour.[64]

### *Tales of Ise in Plain Language* (1678)

The first classical Japanese text to be translated in this way was *Ise*, which was rewritten by Ki Zankei (dates unknown) and printed in 1678 as *Tales of Ise in Plain Language* (*Ise monogatari hirakotoba*), with illustrations by the famous artist Hishikawa Moronobu (?–1694). This work was published during the height of the *Ise* boom of the late seventeenth century.[65] By then, many works were being produced that included quotes from *Ise* or parodied the text such that a degree of *Ise* knowledge was necessary in order to fully appreciate them, and there was a trend towards rendering the language, setting, and illustrations of *Ise* in a contemporary context.[66]

The illustrator, Hishikawa Moronobu, was one of the early founders of the ukiyoe tradition and his life offers clues as to the reasons for the *Ise* translation project.[67] A self-taught artist who came to Edo from the nearby province of Awa, by 1678, the date of *Ise in Plain Language*, Moronobu had taken advantage of developments in print technology to establish a reputation by publishing illustrations of Yoshiwara courtesans, Kabuki actors, as well as an illustrated work of waka poetry by famous warriors that mimicked the format of the *One Hundred Poets*.[68] In 1682 he was commissioned to do the illustrations for the Edo edition of Saikaku's *Life of an Amorous Man*, a major success in its day, which gained Moronobu huge popularity. The *Ise* translation project dates from the period in Moronobu's career when he was beginning to establish his reputation, but was not as famous as he later became. The publisher of *Ise in Plain Language*, Kashiwaya Yoshirō (dates unknown), was relatively minor and very few of his works survive; those of which that do are collaborations with Moronobu.[69] In *One Hundred Warriors, One Poem Each* (*Buke Hyakunin isshu*, 1672), Moronobu had already illustrated a compilation that drew upon the classical tradition by imitating the format of the *One Hundred Poets*. *Ise in Plain Language* looks to be a similar attempt to cash in

[64] On the humorous use of glosses in Tokugawa literature, see Ariga 1989.
[65] On the reception of *Tales of Ise* during the early modern period, see Bowring 1992, pp. 466–80, Suzuki 2001, and Yamamoto and Mostow 2009.
[66] Moretti 2009.
[67] The following details are from Kokusai Ukiyoe Gakkai 2008, p. 417.
[68] e.g., *One Hundred Warriors, One Poem Each* (*Buke Hyakunin isshu*, 1672) a work in the style of *One Hundred Poets* and the first publication to bear Moronobu's name.
[69] Of the three works listed for this publisher in the National Diet Library catalogue, all were illustrated by Moronobu.

on interest in the classics, by a man who was making his way in the developing world of commercial publishing.

On the other hand, very little is known of Zankei, the author credited with the 'translation' (*wajutsu* 和述, lit. 'gentle/softened narration') of *Ise in Plain Language*. The only details available are in the colophon which states he was from Minō Province; no other works are ascribed to his name. The translation itself, however, reveals him to be someone who set out to create a version of *Ise* in which problems and ambiguities were ironed out.[70] Zankei removed ambiguities from his translation (or 'bowdlerized' them, to use the description adopted by Richard Bowring), by clarifying subjects and verb objects, and by supplying interpretive details from commentaries as to the possible identity of locations, characters, and dates in the main body of the translation (see Table 3).[71] The reader knows when, what, who, where, and why.

This specificity reflects contemporary developments in popular fiction. Writers in Japan had been moving towards greater historical and social

Table 3 *Extracts from Tokugawa translations of* The Tales of Ise *(Episode Two)*

| | Japanese | English |
|---|---|---|
| Classical 'Source' | むかしおとこ有けりならの京ははなれ此京は人の家また定まらさりける時にしの京に女ありけり[72] | Long ago there was a man. At the time when the Capital had been moved from Nara, and people's houses were not yet established in the present Capital, he had a woman in the western Capital.[73] |

[70] Bowring 1992, p. 478. See also Imanishi 1991 and Mostow 2003.

[71] Bowring 1992, p. 478. For further details on Zankei's translation techniques, see Moretti 2009, pp. 271–2.

[72] This is the second episode of *Ise* as it appears in Hosokawa Yūsai's *Untested Gleanings from Tales of Ise*, which contains a version of the original plus commentary, and is one of the texts upon which the translation was based (Imanishi 1991, pp. 386–9). This episode has been chosen for the purposes of comparison with the later *Ise* translation, *The Man from the Past in the Form of Today*. Yūsai's *Untested Gleanings* was reprinted numerous times throughout the early modern period. This quote is taken from the1642 edition held by the Waseda Library (Hosokawa 1642, 12r–12v).

[73] In the English translation, I have followed the interpretation suggested by *Untested Gleanings* for the ambiguous expression *nishi mo miyako* にしの京, which could be understood as either 'the west of the Capital' or 'the western Capital'. In his notes, Yūsai explains that when the Capital was moved from Nara in the eleventh month of the third year of Enryaku (784), it was established first at Nagaoka in the Otokuni region of Yamashiro but was shortly thereafter moved to Heian. Nagaoka is to the west and Heian is to the east, hence Yūsai understood '*nishi no miyako*' as meaning 'the western Capital' (i.e., Nagaoka).

Table 3 (*cont.*)

| | Japanese | English |
|---|---|---|
| Tales of Ise in Plain Language, 1678 | むかし、延暦三年十一月に奈良（なら）の京を山城（やましろ）国乙訓郡（をとくにのこほり）長岡（ながおか）に都をひらひ（い）てうつされしに、まだ東の京は人の家居も定まらざりければ、西の京にばかり宮女たちしか\’/住（すみ）たまふ。それに中納言長良（ながよし）卿の御むすめ、いまだたゞ人にておはしますときなれば、御いとこの五条おほき斎（さい）のみや、染殿（そめどの）の后（きさき）に、宮づかへのやうにしておはしけるが . . .[74] | Long ago, in the eleventh month of the third year of Enryaku after the Nara Capital had been moved and a Capital founded at Nagaoka in the Otokuni region of Yamashiro, people’s dwellings in the east of the Capital were not yet established and so the ladies of the palace all lived in the west of the Capital. Among their number, the daughter of Councillor Lord Nagayoshi was still of ordinary rank and so served her cousin, the Empress Dowager of Gojō and the Somedono Empress, in palace service after a fashion. |
| The Man from the Past in the Form of Today, 1731 | むかしおとこ有けり。平城の京ははなれ、今の此京に都うつしし給ひし比、人の家ろく\/に定まらず、内裏普請のだら\’/はかどらぬうちに、西の京に家ゐせし女有けり。その人勝れて見事なる生れ、世人にはまされりけり。その人、心は容儀よりなを一倍勝りたりと誉らるゝ . . .[75] | Once there was a man. When the Capital had been moved from Nara to the present Capital, and people’s houses were not as yet firmly established and the construction of the Palace dragged on, he had a woman who lived in the western Capital. She was by birth extremely beautiful and exceeded others of the time. She was lauded for having a heart that greatly exceeded her outward appearance . . . |

[74] Ki 1991, p. 7. The translator Zankei supplies the details about the movement of the capital, and follows the same interpretation as Yūsai that the action takes place in Nagaoka, though he treats the expression *nishi no miyako* にしの京 as referring to the western part of Nagaoka. The information about the lady’s background does not appear in Yūsai’s commentary, indicating that Zankei probably used more than one commentary or source text.

[75] Miyake 1991, p. 150.

realism at the end of the seventeenth century through the inclusion of descriptive details in their narratives. The information inserted by Zankei into the framework of the *Ise* story is similar to the realistic details included in works by writers such as Ihara Saikaku, for example. Indeed the same methods can be seen in other translations of classical texts produced for the commercial market thereafter.

### *An Elegant Tale of Genji* (1703)

The next to appear, *An Elegant Tale of Genji* (*Fūryū Genji monogatari*, 1703), and a series of four translations by the popular illustrator Okumura Masanobu did likewise. In *An Elegant Tale of Genji* (hereafter *An Elegant Genji*), a version of the first two-and-a-half chapters of *Genji*, professional author Shishido Kōfū (1675–?) using the pen-name Miyako no Nishiki 都の錦 ('Brocade from the Capital'), mined *Genji* for the material to create a lengthy piece of narrative fiction and inserted extra sections of narrative detail to bulk out the story. The opening passage of *Genji*, for example, was split in three, punctuated by descriptions of the heroine's charms and tender scenes between her and the emperor, all of which are of the translator's imagining.[76] The rest of this translation continues in the same vein as Kōfū weaves back and forth between close translations of the source and his insertions – some of which are taken unacknowledged from other texts (see Table 4).[77] Kōfū was a follower of Nishizawa Ippū, and like his mentor, was seeking to use classical motifs in his work and to produce new works of narrative fiction in the process.[78]

### *The Masanobu Genjis* (1707–10)

Likewise, the third translator, Masanobu, began his translation with an introductory scene taken from *Genji* but added details for a heightened sense of narrative realism. Using the pen-name Baiō梅翁 ('Old Man Plum'), in a series of three publications in the years 1707–9 Masanobu had produced a vernacular translation starting from where *An Elegant Genji* ended after the 'Rainy Night's Discussion' in the second chapter and

[76] For this section in a facsimile of the woodblock print, see Miyako no Nishiki 2008, pp. 525–9. For a transcription in modern characters, see Miyako no Nishiki 1911, p. 489. This modern transcription does not record the pronunciation glosses on the Chinese characters; however, with the exception of the transcription in Table 4, I have cited the modern transcription for the benefit of readers who do not know pre-modern characters.

[77] Kamiya 1992, pp. 13–15. See extracts in Table 4.

[78] Kawamoto 2007, pp. 130–1; Hasegawa 1969, pp. 75–8.

Table 4 *Comparative extracts from Tokugawa vernacular translations of* Genji *('Kiritsubo' chapter)*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Classical 'Source' Text | いづれの御時（おほんとき）にか、女御更衣（ねうごかふい）あまたさふらひ給けるなかに、いとやむごとなききはにはあらぬが、すくれてときめき給ふありけり、はしめよりわれはと思ひあがり給へる御かた\”/、めさましきものにおとしめそねみ給、おなしほど、それより下（げ）らうの更衣（かふい）たちはましてやすからす[79] | In which reign might it have been? Among the numerous consorts and intimates serving [at court] was one who, though not of particularly high rank, was a great favourite [of the emperor]. Those who had proudly thought from the beginning that *they* would be the one, scorned and despised her as a dreadful thing; those intimates of the same rank as her or lower were even more upset. |
| *An Elegant Tale of Genji*, 1703 | 御傍（おそば）にかしづく女御（にようご）[女御（にようご）とは后（きさき）の次（つぎ）なり数（かず）はさだまらぬなり] 更衣（かうい）[数十二人みかどの御服（ごふく）をあつかふ女官なり] あまたさふらひ給ふ中に、いとやんごとなき位（くらゐ）ならねど、按察（あぜち）大納言（なごん）のむすめ、桐壷（きりつぼ）の更衣（かうい）と申すは、すぐれて時めく花のかほ二八の春の明ぼのや、霞（かすみ）は黛（まゆずみ）おのづから、その身に薫（たきもの）せざれども色もにほひもほのめきて…[80]<br>… 初（はじめ）から、われこそ御側（そば）に宿直（とのゐ）して、紅（もみ）の振（しとね）を穢（けが）すべき所にさはなくて、しなくだりたる桐壷（きりつぼ）を、めし上るゝのみならず、余（よ）には女もいないように、朝夕（あさゆふ）ともにくされつき…[81]<br>女御更衣（にやうごかうい）をはじめ命婦（めうぶ）[朝夕御膳（ぜん）などをつかさどり給仕 | Among the numerous consorts (a consort is next [in rank] to an Empress. Their number is not fixed) and intimates (12 in number. Female officials who take care of the emperor's clothing) who served at court, the one known as the Paulownia Intimate, the daughter of a counsellor who was also a provincial inspector, though not of very high rank, enjoyed great imperial favour with her 16-year-old flower of a face like the spring dawn and her eyebrows like mist. She did not scent herself with incense and yet gave off a faint fragrance and sensuality…Though Kiritsubo was not in the position of one who had thought from the first that she of all people should wait upon the emperor at night and soil the red silk bedding, [the emperor] kept her beside him not only at mealtimes but both day and night as if he had no other women…Beginning with the consorts and intimates right down to the gentlewomen (numerous ladies-in-waiting who serve morning and evening |

[79] There were numerous editions of the *Moon on the Lake Commentary* in print. This is a transcription from the 1673 edition held by the Diet Library (Kitamura 1673), vol. I, 2r.

[80] Miyako no Nishiki 2008, pp. 525–8. Here and below, glossed pronunciation guides (*furigana*) are given in brackets. The sections in square brackets appear in the source text as interlinear glosses (*warichū* 割注).

[81] Miyako no Nishiki 2008, p. 529.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | （きよじ）ずる女官也あまた有 内侍（ないし）つねにみかどの御そばに居て仰（をゝせ）を聞て人に伝る女官也］にいたるまで、目さむるこゝちにあきれはて…[82] | meals) and the attendants (ladies-in-waiting who remain with the emperor at all times and communicate his pronouncements to others), [all] were angered at this dreadful behaviour… |
| *Vernacular Interpretation of The Tale of Genji*, 1710 | いづれの御時（とき）にか［延喜（えんぎ）の御代（みよ）をさす］女御（にようご）［后（きさき）に次（つぐ）官（くはん）なり］更衣（かうゐ）［女御（にようこ）の次（つぎ）の官（くはん）なり］さふらひ給ひける中（なか）に。いたりて上臈（じやうろう）の分際（ぶんざい）にはあらぬ。大納言（だいなごん）位（くらゐ）の人のむすめを。御門（かど）すぐれて御寵愛（てうあい）ありけり。かのよね。禁中（きんちう）にてすみ給ふつぼねを。桐壷（きりつぼ）といへば。すなはち。きりつぼの更衣（かうゐ）とぞ申けり。このよねより最初（さいしよ）にまいり給ひて。御門（みかど）の御心ざしもふかく。ことに大臣（だいじん）のむすめ達（たち）。こうきでんのにようごをはじめ。御子（みこ）をもあまたうみ給ひて。おそらくはたれにもおとらじと心のうちにおもひをご▮▮[83]ゐ給ふ。よねたち。かのきりつぼのぜんせいをねたましく。なにごとぞ。みおとしきゝおとさんと。そねみ給ふ上臈（らう）さへ。しつとの恨（うらみ）はおそろしきものなるに。きりつほのかうゐとおなじくらゐのよね。それより下臈（げらう）のよねたちはましてやすからず[84] | In whose reign might it have been? (this refers to the Engi period) Among the consorts (an office next in rank to an empress) and intimates (an office next in rank to a consort) serving at court, the emperor greatly loved the daughter of someone who had the rank of counsellor and was not of the highest social standing. Because this beauty lived in a courtyard called the Kiritsubo, she was known as the Kiritsubo Intimate. The other beauties, who had come to court earlier than her and were deep in the emperor's affection, particularly those who were daughters of ministers, like the Kokiden Consort, and who had born many princes, thought proudly in their hearts that they would probably not be placed below anyone else. Even the jealous grudge born by these of high social standing – who hated the great success of Kiritsubo, looked down upon her and enviously despised her – was a fearsome thing; those beauties of the same rank as the Kiritsubo Intimate or of lesser social standing were even more upset. |
| *Murasaki's Writings in the Gibberish of Fisherfolk*, 1723 | いづれの御時にかよりより所なく心ぼそけ也まで<br>いづれの帝（みかと）の御時代（ごじだい）にかありけん。女御更衣（にようごかうい）あまたおはしましける中（なか）に。さのみお里（さと） | From '*izure no ontoki*' to '*yoridokoro naku kokorobosoke nari*'<br>In the reign of which emperor might it have been? Among the numerous consorts and intimates was an |

82 Miyako no Nishiki 2008, p. 530.

83 Woodblock has been damaged or mis-carved (all printed copies checked contain this anomaly).

84 Okumura 1721b, vol. I, 3r–4v.

の品（しな）たかき御分際（ごぶんざい）にはおはせぬが。すぐれて帝（みかど）のお気（き）に入り。時（とき）めき者のきゝ給ふ更衣おはしましけり。此更衣（このかうい）。いまだまいり給はざりけるまへかたより御入内（ごじゆだい）ありて。われはこそと心（こゝろ）たかぶりせさせ給ふ。暦々（れき＼／）なる女御の御かた＼”／。此更衣（かうい）の。はゞひろ時めき給ふをあまりといへばみる目（め）もすさまじきものにおぼし給ふて。その御おやもとの品（しな）たかからぬを。あれていの分際（ぶんざい）にて。いかに御目（め）みせよければとてもしやらくさやなどゝ。おとしみそねませ給ふに。その御おやもとの品（しな）くらゐ。おなじほどなるかた＼”／。それより品ひきゝ更衣（かうい）たちは。ましてやすからぬ事におもひねたみ給ふ[85]

intimate whose background was not of the highest social calibre but who was a great favourite of the emperor and rumoured to be the lady of the moment. The ranks of consorts who had come to court before this intimate and who had proudly thought that they would be the one, looked upon her increasing success with the emperor as something dreadful. They despised her and said envious things like ‘Her parents are not of high rank! No matter how much a favourite of the emperor she is, for someone of her status it is most impudent!’ Those ladies whose parents were of the same rank and the intimates of lower rank thought it even more hatefully upsetting.

*A Handskein for the Tale of Genji*, 1848

いつの比（ころ）の帝（みかど）にや。桐（きり）つぼの帝（みかど）と申奉（たてまつ）り御側（そば）づかひの女中数多（かずおゝ）き中に。きりつぼの更衣（かうい）と申は御家（いへ）えもさまで申立てる程の事にもあらざれども、当時（とうじ）第（だい）一の御寵愛（てうあい）にて、此かたにのみ御心をよせられし程に御本妻（ほんさい）の弘徽殿（こきでん）の女御（にようご）をはじめ、前（まへ）かたより御心をかけられてつとめゐたる人＼／、何（なに）となく心おもしろからず、わけて末（すへ）＼／のわかき人たちは、殊（こと）にねたましく思ひ、朝夕何

When might this emperor have lived? He was called the Kiritsubo Emperor. Among the many women who served at his side the one called the Kiritsubo Intimate was not from a household of a rank worth mentioning but was the great imperial favourite of the day. His heart went out to her alone and to such an extent that, from his principle wife, the Kokiden Consort, down to those who had waited upon him from before and had previously attracted his attentions, [none] were at all amused. In particular, those young women of low rank found it especially hateful and thought resentfully of this Kiritsubo Intimate from dawn to dusk.

[85] Taga 1723, vol. I, 1r, Taga 1915, p.12.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| | （あさゆふ）（なに）かにつけて、此きりつぼの更衣（かうい）をにくしと思ふ[86] | |
| *Genji in Rustic Language*, 1851 | 何つれの帝の御時にか。女御更衣あまたおはしましける中に。格別歴＼／の御方にはあらざれど。すぐれて帝の御意に入り。時めき給ふあり。是を桐壷の更衣といふ。此更衣より先に入内して。我こそ寵をえんと心たかぶりたる御方＼／。さはあるまじき事なりと憤りそねみ給ふ。御親元の品位桐つほの更衣と同じ程なる。又それよりは位ひくき更衣たちは。ましてやすからず[87] | In the reign of which emperor might it have been? Among the consorts and intimates serving [at court] there was one whose [family] did not have a particularly illustrious history but who captured the attention of the emperor and was his great favourite of the day. She was called the Kiritsubo Intimate. Those persons who had come to court before this intimate and who proudly assumed they would gain the emperor's heart were envious and angry at a situation they thought ought not to be. Those intimates whose parents were of the same rank as the Kiritsubo Intimate or who were of lower rank were even more upset. |

[86] Kuwabara 1848, 2r–2v. [87] Usuki 1851, 19r–19v.

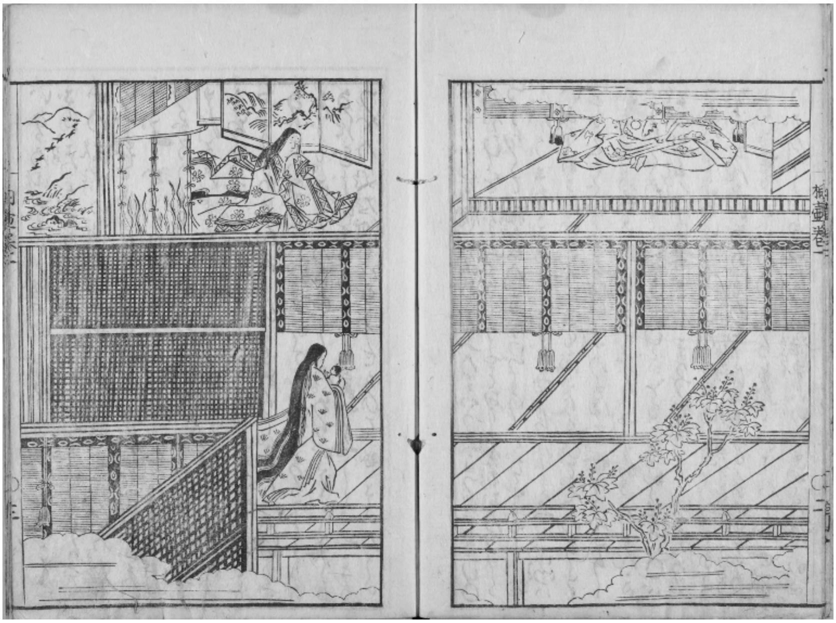

Figure 2 Illustration showing young Genji and his parents, Okumura Masanobu. From Okumura Masanobu, *Vernacular Interpretation of the Tale of Genji* (*Zokuge Genji monogatari*), 1721, National Diet Library

continuing through to the eighth chapter.[88] In a fourth work, with a preface dated 1710, he returned to the beginning of *Genji* and retranslated the first chapter and the beginning of the second, which had been previously covered by *An Elegant Genji*.[89] *A Young Sprout's Tale of Genji* (*Wakakusa Genji monogatari*, 1707), the first of Masanobu's translations to be published, began at the third chapter with a scene in which Genji wanders about the home of his host on a hot evening. Masanobu added extra details of food and clothing that would have been familiar to his early modern audience, such as a loincloth (*yumoji* 湯もじ) and pickled white gourd (*shirourizuke*白瓜漬).[90]

This methodology, in which a classical source provided the framework for a 'new' work with extra narrative details, goes some way towards

[88] *A Young Sprout's Tale of Genji* (*Wakakusa Genji monogatari*, 1707), *A Fledgling's Tale of Genji* (*Hinazuru Genji monogatari*, 1708), and *Autumn Leaf and Cherry Blossom Tale of Genji* (*Kōhaku Genji monogatari*, 1709).

[89] *A Vernacular Interpretation of the Tale of Genji* (*Zokuge Genji monogatari*, 1710).

[90] Clements 2013. For further information on Masanobu's strategies, see Table 4.

explaining why the vernacular translations of the classics appeared when they did. At a time when many in the contemporary publishing industry were seeking to mine classical texts for inspiration, vernacular translation provided an important means of doing so. This is consistent with the backgrounds of the people involved in these early translations. Like Hishikawa Moronobu, illustrator of *Ise in Plain Language*, both Shishido Kōfū and Okumura Masanobu earned money from the commercial publishing industry. Masanobu was one of the most popular and prolific ukiyoe artists of his day, and although he had no particular teacher one of the people he had modelled himself upon was Moronobu.[91] Likewise, Kōfū was a prolific producer of books for the commercial publishing industry, which often drew upon classical texts for their inspiration.[92]

## Language choice

The combination of old and new elements in these translations is reflected in their language as classical and vernacular usages are present on the same page. The Japanese language was undergoing changes throughout the Tokugawa period as writers forged new literary registers. This involved a style of writing that supplied more semantic detail than the sentences of Heian literature, as well as the increasing use of contemporary Tokugawa idiom or vocabulary that had been considered unacceptable in combination with classical language because of its perceived vulgarity. In Zankei's translation of *Ise* discussed above, there is very little vocabulary that is obviously early modern; as the modern scholar Imanishi Yūichirō pointed out, but for the insertion of commentarial-style details, the text could almost be considered a variant manuscript of *Ise*.[93] *Ise in Plain Language* is an intralingual translation, however, in that it interprets and rewords the source text with a greater degree of linguistic and narrative detail according to the conventions of narrative fiction that were developing at the time. The language is 'plain' (*hirakotoba*) in so far as it may be plainly understood. In the afterword, this textual strategy is described as 'gently elaborated in lowly language'.[94] The lowliness of the language comes not so much from a large amount of Tokugawa vocabulary as from the fact that it spells things out for the reader of low rank and education.

91 On Masanobu's life, see Kokusai Ukiyoe Gakkai 2008, pp. 102–3.
92 For what is known of this author's life see Nakajima 1989, pp. 338–52.
93 Imanishi 1991, pp. 384–5.
94 '*Iyashiki kotonoha ni nobe yawaragu*' いやしきことのはに述べやわらぐる. The afterword, from which the quotation comes, is reproduced in modern characters in Ki 1991, p. 141.

The later translations by Kōfū and Masanobu involved not only greater linguistic specificity, but also what was probably the classical edition of *Genji* contained in the *Moon on the Lake Commentary* interspersed with an increasing amount of contemporary language.[95] When representing speech, for example, *An Elegant Genji* contains colloquial expressions like *dokoyara* どこやら ('somewhere or other') and the polite copula *sōrō* 候.[96] The translator also studded his narrative with sayings such as *bijo wa akujo no teki* ('a beautiful woman makes an ugly one look worse'), which had made its way from Chinese into Japanese idiom.[97] Masanobu likewise used words that came into widespread usage in the Tokugawa period such as *yone* よね ('beautiful woman', 'courtesan'), and *jōmono* 上もの ('top quality').[98]

This use of new language was deliberate and was noted in forewords to both works: described as 'pillow words of the present age' in the case of *An Elegant Genji*, and the 'erotic language of a present day cross-dresser' in the case of *A Young Sprout's Tale of Genji*.[99] An advertisement for *An Elegant Genji* further describes the text as substituting the 'straightforward words of the present day' for the 'ancient babble' of the source.[100] Without making a teleological assumption that all paths lead to modernity, it is nonetheless interesting to note that these Tokugawa translators were aware of the 'nowness' of their language as well as the distance between languages of the present and the past. As discussed in Chapter 1, this phenomenon is found not only among those who were translating the Japanese classics but also among sinologists, some of whom became increasingly aware of the distance and foreignness of classical Chinese texts from their own language and textual traditions.

This consciousness seems to have been wider than just the scholarly community, however. The fact that the prefaces to *An Elegant Genji* and *A Young Sprout's Tale of Genji* both mention the contemporary nature of the

95 Clements 2013. 96 Miyako no Nishiki 1911, pp. 518 and 490.

97 Miyako no Nishiki 1911, p. 489. This expression is taken from *The Records of the Grand Historian* (*Shiji*, *c.*100 BC) (Nihon kokugo daijiten).

98 Quotes from *Zokuge Genji monogatari* (Okumura 1721b, vol. IV, 6v and 7r, respectively).

99 '*Tōsei no makurakotoba*' 当世の枕詞 (Miyako no Nishiki, 1911, p. 487) and '*Ima no yo no murasaki bōshi no iro o fukumeru kotoba*' 今の世の紫帽子の色を含める言葉 (Inoura 1972, p. 204). The latter remark comes from the translator's preface to *A Young Sprout's Tale of Genji*. A (partially accurate) transcription exists of the two prefaces to *A Young Sprout's Tale of Genji* with discussion in Inoura 1972. I have cited Inoura's transcription where possible.

100 '*Tōsei no heichoku kotoba*' 当世の平直詞 and '*inishie no chinpunkan*' いにしへのちんぷんかん. The advertisement is contained in *A Genroku Tale of the Soga* (*Genroku Soga monogatari*, 1702). A transcription of the advertisement is available in Kawamoto 2007, p. 127.

language, plus the reference to present-day language in the advertisement for *An Elegant Genji*, suggest such factors were a selling point. This use of up-to-date language mirrors the fad for updating classical scenes with figures in contemporary Tokugawa dress that was to be found in ukiyoe illustrations at the time. Such techniques were known as *tōsei*, *fūryū*, and *imayō* ('contemporary style'), and the use of these terms by the translators signals that their work was marketed in part as belonging to the same phenomenon.[101]

The Kōfū and Masanobu translations certainly seem to have enjoyed a measure of success during their day and afterwards. Though there was only one printing of *An Elegant Genji*, the Masanobu *Genji* versions were printed (and reprinted) for a wider audience.[102] Both survived in the popular consciousness until the nineteenth century. The widely read author Ryūtei Tanehiko, for example, included *An Elegant Genji* and *A Young Sprout's Tale of Genji* in his list of 'works cited' in his highly successful *A Fraudulent Murasaki's Bumpkin Genji* of 1829, and assumed a degree of familiarity with the Masanobu translations on the part of his readers.[103] In the Meiji period, *An Elegant Genji*, together with two of the Masanobu translations and *Murasaki's Writings in the Gibberish of Fisherfolk*, a later translation of *Genji*, were found together in the collection of the Daisō, a famous commercial lending library (*kashihon'ya* 貸本屋) in Nagoya, when it was dissolved in 1899, though the Daisō records do not indicate if or how often they had been borrowed by that time.[104]

## Translation as commentary

However, in addition to providing narrative reading material for a new market of readers, there was another important reason why vernacular translations of the classics appeared when they did: the developing market for simple commentaries and reading aids for classical texts. Indeed all three translators discussed so far position their works as a type of commentarial interpretation of the classical text being translated. As noted, *Ise in Plain Language* was described in the afterword as 'gently elaborated in

[101] On these ukiyoe techniques see for example, Watanabe 2008 and Nakamachi 2009.
[102] There were four first edition printings of the Masanobu translations between 1707 and 1710 (or possibly 1721, see Table 2). In addition, *Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku* records at least four other possible reprints of these works in various combinations during the eighteenth century.
[103] Though the list is largely tongue in cheek, there is evidence that Tanehiko was familiar with the content of the vernacular translations. For a discussion, see Emmerich 2008, pp. 227–8.
[104] Shibata 1983, vol. I, p. 766.

lowly language', an expression that focused on the simplified, explanatory function of the text.[105] Through the use of clear language, explanatory details, and illustrations, *Ise in Plain Language* imparted to readers knowledge of a literary classic, whereas previously such readers would only have had recourse to commentaries or oral teaching.

The importance of didactic content as a selling point in the vernacular translations is underscored by the translations that followed. The same emphasis on providing information and interpretation can be seen in Shishido Kōfū and Okumura Masanobu's work. In the translator's preface to *An Elegant Genji*, Kōfū describes at length how people become lost when trying to understand *Genji* using the commentaries.[106] He argues that without the help of a teacher such scholarly texts are useless and describes himself as 'chewing up and softening' the words of Murasaki Shikibu for the benefit of such readers.[107]

Like Kōfū, Masanobu claimed that his translation would provide less able readers with better access to the story of *Genji*. He wrote that 'even the lowest of the lowborn daughters of mountain hermits will not find this book too difficult to read so long as they know their ABC (*iroha* いろは)', not only alluding to a female readership but also meaning that a knowledge of Japanese phonetic syllables alone would be sufficient to understand his work, which has cursive kana glosses on all but the most simple Chinese characters.[108] This strikes a contrast to commentaries, which were written in a mixture of Chinese characters and kana. However, Masanobu, unlike Kōfū, did not explicitly criticize the usefulness of the existing commentaries. Rather, he suggested his translation was an alternative for the less 'interested' reader who would like to understand the meaning of the original but did not wish to collect all the commentaries.[109]

In fact, a move towards increasingly accurate translation of the exact wording of *Genji* can be seen between Kōfū and Masanobu's translations. According to the translator's preface to *A Young Sprout's Tale of Genji*, Masanobu was inspired to make his translation when he overheard his daughter and her friends reading *An Elegant Genji* one rainy afternoon. Masanobu described his predecessor's translation methods as 'shocking' (*omoigakenu* おもひかけぬ), though he acknowledged that Kōfū 'followed the original in broad outline'.[110] Indeed, with the exception of those

105 Ki 1991, p. 141.
106 Miyako no Nishiki 1911, pp. 494–5.
107 '*Kamiyawaragete*' かみやわらげて(Miyako no Nishiki 1911, p. 487).
108 Inoura 1972, p. 210.
109 Inoura 1972, p. 210.
110 '*Aramashi honmon ni yoru to iedomo*' あらまし本文によるといへども(Inoura 1972, p. 207).

anachronistic details when setting the scene at the beginning of *A Young Sprout's Tale of Genji*, Masanobu's work contains far fewer authorial insertions of the kind found in *An Elegant Genji*.[111] The exact source edition is unknown but it follows not only the storyline of *Genji* but in places the exact wording of the version contained in the *Moon on the Lake Commentary*.[112]

Masanobu was treading the line between accuracy and a work that would be interesting for readers with lower levels of literacy. Thus, on the one hand he claimed that his work was guided by Murasaki Shikibu's 'true intention and meaning' (*hon'i* ほんゐ) while on the other, acknowledged the small liberties he took with the text.[113] The prefaces to Masanobu's translations described his translations not as works of scholarship but of performance. In *Autumn Leaf and Cherry Blossom Tale of Genji* (*Kōhaku Genji monogatari*, 1709), the third in the Masanobu series, the act of translation is compared to the transformation of *Genji* content into the gaudy mannerisms of a seductive contemporary beauty or courtesan; and in the earlier *A Young Sprout's Tale of Genji*, the translator is described as a cross-dressing Kabuki actor.[114] Nonetheless, Masanobu's assertion that he followed the 'true intention and meaning' of the text made it clear that he thought *Genji* was worth reading. He apologized for the small liberties he took, writing that he had merely 'added incongruous jokes in order to provoke laughter and to wake readers up for fear they might become bored'.[115] That such assurances were more than a tongue-in-cheek gesture in the direction of scholarly convention is indicated by the closeness of Masanobu's translation approach.

Masanobu's concern with explaining the small liberties he took with the text of *Genji* hint that the intended readership of these translations was not limited to people with low levels of education who were unfamiliar with the content of *Genji*. When apologizing for the 'incongruous jokes', Masanobu writes that 'those in the know will be able to tell' where he has made his minor alterations, suggesting that he hoped more educated readers would also encounter his text. Likewise, *An Elegant Genji* was probably read and enjoyed on different levels by different types of reader. The aforementioned account in Masanobu's preface to *A Young Sprout's*

111 Clements 2013, pp. 16–18.
112 Clements 2011, pp. 49–52.
113 Inoura 1972, p. 210.
114 '*Iromekitaru tōfū no yone no shidashi ni yoku utsuru*' 色めきたる当風のよねの仕出によく移る (Okumura 1911, p. 228), and '*ima no yo no murasaki bōshi*' 今の世の紫帽子 (Inoura 1972, p. 204), respectively. For more details see Clements (forthcoming).
115 '*Aranu tawamuregoto o kuwaetaru wa yomumono no uman koto o osorete warai o moyōshi nemuri o samasan ga tame*' あらぬたわはふれ事をくはへたるは。よむ者の倦んことをおそれて。わらひをもよほしねふりをさまさんがため (Inoura 1972, p. 210).

*Tale of Genji*, describes his young daughters whiling away a rainy afternoon reading *An Elegant Genji* aloud to each other. Masanobu overhears this and immediately recognizes that *An Elegant Genji* is *Genji* redone in a 'shocking' manner. Although 'shocking' refers to Kōfū's translation style, it is also no doubt a veiled reference to the numerous erotic allusions in his text, something which appears to be lost on Masanobu's daughters but would have been immediately apparent to their older, worldlier father, himself an illustrator of erotic prints. Whether a true account or not, this scene suggests that *An Elegant Genji* had at least two readerships: young women and older men of letters (even if the older men of letters cannot openly admit to having read the text and must claim they first encountered it accidentally through their daughters).

### *Genji* and morality

However, it is important to note that neither Masanobu nor Kōfū subscribe to the early modern notion that women beyond aristocratic circles should not read *Genji*. Although both their prefaces are informed by discussions about the morality of *Genji* and include reference to the text's admirable and edifying qualities, in this they were pre-empting criticism and parodying the obsession some scholars had with the issue. Kōfū may have written that his translation would 'chastise the jealous wife . . . and admonish the adulterous letch',[116] but in the same section he undercuts this seriousness with a joke: 'the more you polish a treasure the more it shines', a seemingly earnest statement about the quality of *Genji* but one which on second glance contains the pun 'when you rub your balls . . .', pivoting on the slang reading of the characters for 'treasure' 金玉 which can also be read '*kintama*' (testicles).[117] Masanobu's text addresses concerns about female readers with an ironically hyperbolic use of every possible defence of *Genji*. After extolling the virtues of the text as a means of understanding Confucian values of benevolence and righteousness (*jingi* 仁義), the teachings of Daoism (*rōsō*老壮) and the Buddha (*butsudō* 仏道), Masanobu gushes that *Genji* was a better means of teaching the way (*michi* 道) to girls than the Four Books and the Five Classics (*Shisho gokyō* 四書五経).

In fact, given that Masanobu's translations and Kōfū's before him were aimed primarily at the commercial publishing industry, the associations

[116] '*Rinkifukai okusama o korashi . . . mabuguruisuru sukebei o imashime*' 悋気深い奥様を懲し...密夫狂する助平をいましめ (Miyako no Nishiki 1911, p. 485).
[117] '*Kingyoku wa migakuhodo nao hikari o masu*' 金玉は磨ほど猶光をます (Miyako no Nishiki 1911, p. 485).

between *Genji* and sex may well have been a selling point. There are numerous erotic references in *An Elegant Genji*, for instance, and as previously noted, Kōfū goes so far as to describe the language of his translation as 'the pillow words of the present day' (*tōsei no makura kotoba*).[118] In addition to being a reference to *makura kotoba* – traditional poetic language – this phrase also implies 'pillow (i.e., bedroom) words'. Likewise, the metaphors used to describe Masanobu's work – the cross-dresser and the courtesan – also draw upon the associations between *Genji* and the fashionable world of the prostitution district.

However, this association came to be severed in later translations of *Genji* as vernacular translation was taken up by scholars who wished to be taken seriously within their field, and who therefore might encounter disapproval of *Genji* for its potentially corrupting influence.

## Move towards translation as scholarship

This development, in which vernacular translation gradually became a tool of scholarship, rather than a strategy used by commercial authors, began in the second decade of the eighteenth century. It was a move founded on changing concepts of language and its relationship to historical time. Beginning in the late seventeenth century, the sinologist Itō Jinsai, followed by his pupil Ogyū Sorai, had argued that Neo-Confucian principles were the product of a particular historical moment – Song China – and instead advocated the study of ancient language (*kobunjigaku* 古文辞学) as the best way of understanding classical Chinese texts.[119] This historical consciousness was also present in the early beginnings of Kokugaku and the study of classical Japanese texts. The Buddhist scholar priest Keichū (1640–1701) had studied at Jinsai's academy and went on to use the method of ancient studies to reinterpret the language of the *Collection of Myriad Leaves* (*Man'yōshū*, eighth century) poetry anthology, a Japanese work.[120] Subsequently, Keichū's work became a touchstone for scholars of the Kokugaku persuasion, who sought in the texts of the Japanese past a common culture untainted by foreign influences. Both the influential thinkers, Jinsai and Sorai, used translation from classical Chinese into different forms of Japanese as a key means of learning classical Chinese and coming to grips with texts written in that language. Likewise, thinkers associated with the Kokugaku movement turned to

118 Miyako no Nishiki 1911, p. 487.
119 On the historical consciousness that came to infuse Tokugawa thought, see Najita 1991, pp. 601–21 and Burns 2003.
120 Burns 2003, pp. 49–52.

translation to help them understand the languages of the past, compiling dictionaries of 'classical' and 'vernacular' Japanese words and in some cases, translating classical texts into vernacular Japanese. Initially, the authors of these more scholarly translations described their project with a degree of apprehension, fearful of what others would make of the combination of classical text and vernacular idiom in a written, academic context. It was not until the very end of the century, when one of the most influential scholars of the Tokugawa period, Motoori Norinaga (1730–1801), produced a vernacular translation of the *Poems Ancient and Modern* complete with a detailed defence of vernacularization, that attitudes began to change.

### *Murasaki's Writings in the Gibberish of Fisherfolk* (1723)

The first text to use translation as a scholarly tool for interpreting the classics was written by a samurai in service to the powerful daimyo family who had been patrons of Ogyū Sorai: *Murasaki's Writings in the Gibberish of Fisherfolk*, by Taga Hanshichi (dates unknown). Hanshichi's translation (hereafter, *The Gibberish of Fisherfolk*) was different in content to the previous *Genji* translations, though the first four chapters were published in the same format as these previous works: an illustrated woodblock print book for general consumption. For one thing, Hanshichi attempted to distance *Genji* from its associations with sex, stating that he had avoided translating into 'the popular slang of the pleasure quarters', and devoting six-and-a-half folios of the woodblock print edition to defending *Genji* from the charge that its morals would corrupt.[121] Indeed, Hanshichi comes across as someone keen to give the impression of being a careful scholar. His work is prefaced by an entire volume devoted to a foreword, translator's notes, and a scholarly introduction. Moreover, for the first time, he attempted to translate *Genji* in full. Although the woodblock edition of 1723 only includes from 'Kiritsubo' up to the third chapter, 'Utsusemi', a manuscript version held by the Seikado Bunko is of 'Kiritsubo' through to 'Yadorigi'. A note at the end of the manuscript states that Hanshichi fell ill and died before he could complete the final five chapters.[122] The note is by Hanshichi's son, Suiso 翠礎 (dates unknown), who presumably collated his deceased father's papers. The Seikado manuscript was copied by one Minamoto Shigeru 源茂 (dates unknown) between 1786 and 1787, probably in preparation for printing, as suggested by the neat script and layout mirroring that of the previous

[121] Taga 1915, p. 10. [122] Taga 1980, vol. LXXII, 30r–30v (reel. 63).

published sections.[123] No other manuscript copies are known and the remainder of Hanshichi's translation was never printed. Hanshichi appears to have attempted to translate the entirety of *Genji* before commercial success of the later volumes was assured.

Unlike the men who had been the driving force behind previous translations, Hanshishi did not work as a commercial author or illustrator. He was a retainer in the Yanagisawa household, which at the time had a strong interest in *Genji* scholarship. In 1723, the date of the colophon to *The Gibberish of Fisherfolk*, Hanshichi was in service to Yanagisawa Yoshisato (1687–1745), son of Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu (1658–1714), who had been one of the most influential daimyo of his day.[124] Records from Yoshiyasu's time have been destroyed or lost and it is not certain when Hanshichi was born or at what point he began to serve the Yanagisawa. However, both Yoshiyasu, who Hanshichi may have served, and Yoshisato, who Hanchishi certainly did serve, were famous for their study of *Genji* and surrounded themselves with people who taught the great text. Yoshiyasu, for instance, was a patron of Kitamura Kigin, the compiler of the *Moon on the Lake Commentary* on *Genji*, and Yoshisato studied under Kigin.[125]

The Yanagisawa family had also been patrons of Ogyū Sorai, who so famously wrote about translation from classical Chinese. Since he understood the Chinese classics as the product of a particular place and time, Sorai argued that Chinese had to be dealt with on its own terms, advocating that readers familiarize themselves with the Chinese language and learn to read it as a native speaker rather than relying on the *kundoku* 訓読 reading method.[126] If translation was to be resorted to, he argued, it should at least be rendered in the contemporary Japanese vernacular not the stilted language of *kundoku* which was littered with archaic usages from the linguistic past. Likewise, in the opening remarks to *The Gibberish of Fisherfolk*, Hanshichi writes about the differences between Japanese languages of past and present, and his resorting to vernacular translation as a tool for understanding a text from the past such as *Genji* echo Sorai's concerns.[127]

Consistent with the idea of translation as a means of understanding the language of the past, Hanshichi's translation stays close to the source, in

123 Nakano 2009, p. 4.
124 On what is known of Hanshichi's life and his relations with the Yanagisawa family, see Clements 2013, pp. 23–4.
125 On the Yanagisawa salon, see Miyakawa 2007–12, vol. II, pp. 56–69.
126 This was the focus of Sorai's *Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*, 1715–96), which is reprinted in modern characters in Sorai 1977b. The best introduction to this text and its historical context is Pastreich 2001, which also includes a translation of Sorai's prefatory remarks.
127 Taga 1915, p. 10.

places retaining the wording of what was probably the edition reproduced with notes in the *Moon on the Lake Commentary*.[128] He does, however, supply the subjects and objects of verbs as well as contemporary equivalents for difficult expressions. He avoided the use of jarring anachronisms or bawdy word play, and instead produced a translation that functions as a smooth narrative-reading experience that does not rely on commentarial glosses or unexpected terms from Tokugawa usage, and is thus closer to seeming analogous with the source text. According to his preface, Hanshichi wrote his text so that it could be used as a reading aid in place of *Genji* commentaries, because, he argued, the existing commentaries are too long, too expensive, and too tiresome for some readers.[129] That Hanshichi's work was classified as a commentary by later readers, however, is clear from the *Gunsho ichiran* bibliography of 1802, which listed *The Gibberish of Fisherfolk* together with commentaries.[130]

### *The Man from the Past in the Form of Today* (1731)

Hanshichi was not the only author to experiment with using translation in a scholarly way. Eight years after *The Gibberish of Fisherfolk* another work using translation was published, this time dealing with *Ise*: *The Man from the Past in the Form of Today* (*Mukashi otoko imayō sugata*, 1731), by Miyake Yarai (dates unknown).[131] Little is known of this translator, except that he also authored a minor book about the handicraft industry of the Kyoto region, which was published the year after his *Ise* translation (hereafter *The Man from the Past*).[132] Like Hanshichi, he does not appear to have been a commercial author or illustrator.

Just as *An Elegant Tale of Genji* (*Fūryū Genji monogatari*), many years before, used the painterly term '*fūryū*' to describe the mixture of old and new, the title of *The Man from the Past* (*Mukashi otoko imayō sugata*) was inspired by a technique taken from ukiyoe illustration: *imayō* 時世, in which classical scenes and motifs were redone in early modern settings and dress. *The Man from the Past* is described by Yarai as 'softening and interpreting' (*wage* 和解) *Ise* in its entirety for the benefit of

[128] Clements 2013. See also Table 4. [129] Taga 1915, p. 3. [130] Ozaki 1979, p. 266.

[131] Miyake 1991.

[132] *Collection of Lucrative Occupations* (*Bankin sugiwai bukuro*, 1732). Although the author of *The Man from the Past* is simply given as 'Yarai', the name stamps in the preface to *The Man from the Past* (Miyake 1731, vol. I, 1v) and the afterword to *Collection of Lucrative Occupations* (Miyake 1732, vol. VI, 19v), are the same.

Figure 3 Illustration of Episode Two, unattributed. From Miyake Yarai, *The Man of the Past in the Form of Today* (*Mukashi otoko imayō sugata*), 1731, National Diet Library

immature, childish beginners – women and children . . . in the hope that they might one day gain for themselves an understanding of the beauty and elegance of the original passages.[133]

By describing his work as *wage* Yarai was referring to his use of contemporary vernacular language to explain the passages of *Ise;* what this means in practice differs between passages. The first passage of *The Man from the Past*, for example, reads like a traditional commentary adapted for readers at a basic level. Using the contemporary written vernacular, Yarai sets the scene by outlining what the passage describes and focuses on certain phrases in the original, which are explained in more detail (including word for word translation). He uses contemporary analogies – supported by the illustration with updated costumes. The poem is not translated or glossed.[134] The next passage, however, reveals a different methodology.[135] This time, instead of dividing the source passage into pieces

[133] Translated from Miyake 1991, p. 145. [134] Miyake 1991, pp. 147–50.
[135] Miyake 1991, p. 150. See Table 3.

for explanation, Yarai smoothly rewords the story with explanatory details included as part of translated sentences that mirror the source text. Yarai's translation ends before the poem, which is given in the 'original' form, followed by an explanation in the style of commentary. Imanishi notes that much of the commentarial content of *The Man from the Past* appears to have been taken from Kitamura Kigin's *Gleanings from Tales of Ise* (*Ise mongatari shūsui shō*, printed 1680).[136]

Yarai does not explain why he used two such different methods between episodes, but it seems to have been a means of dealing with the difficulties posed by the text on a case-by-case basis. The first episode of *Ise*, which he rendered in the style of commentarial explanation, is notoriously ambiguous and scholars today still debate the meaning of many of the key words and expressions.[137] Because of the high degree of ambiguity it would be impossible to translate this episode without settling upon a particular interpretation. By adopting a commentarial style, Yarai was able to allude to these differences, retaining a sense of the textual problems of the source. The second episode of *Ise*, however, is less problematic and could therefore be translated without commentarial supplements. The poems in *The Man from the Past* are likewise approached in different ways, arguably depending on whether it was possible to capture a satisfactory sense of the meaning by translating them in full, or whether it was necessary to use a more disjointed, commentarial style.

Thus Yarai's work uses translation as one of a number of approaches so as to retain as much of the source text as possible while providing readers with a scholarly interpretation of *Ise*. This is consistent with his aim as stated in the preface quoted above, of providing a reading aid for dealing with *Ise*, and the afterword also states that the work is intended as a compromise for those who find traditional commentaries too difficult, but are not satisfied with simple works aimed at 'girls and school children'.[138] *The Man from the Past* is an experimental form of scholarship containing large amounts of vernacular translation alongside more traditional commentarial methods. Parts of the work provide a smooth reading experience that mirrors the reading of *Ise* itself, but others jolt the reader back into the mode of commentary. Earlier texts like *An Elegant Genji* sit on the problematic borderline between translation and the writing of a new work of narrative fiction; *The Man from the Past* sits on the borderline between translation and commentary.

136 Imanishi 1991, pp. 391–6.
137 This is discussed in Mostow and Tyler 2010, pp. 15–14.
138 '*Onnawarabe, tenaraigo no sono tagui*' 女わらべ、手習子のその類ひ (Miyake 1991, p. 262).

## Ambivalence towards vernacular translation

Indeed these later translators, Hanshichi and Yarai, display a degree of ambivalence towards their work, which was not as yet part of any established tradition. Yarai seems uncertain as to what readers will make of his use of translation and commentary. In a modestly phrased afterword he describes it as 'a bumpkin's lecture' (*inaka kōshaku* 田舎かう尺) that 'inserts rather countrified vernacular language and blends in contemporary words'.[139] *Kōshaku* 講釈 ('lecture') was the term used to describe the orthodox scholarly practice of expounding a text in oral form, though these lectures were sometimes written down by devoted pupils and circulated in manuscript. Since his work involved a high degree of vernacular and updated language – something that was not usually seen in commentaries – Yarai likens it to these oral teachings as the closest analogy.

In fact, the inclusion of vernacular language in a written scholarly context was a particular cause for anxiety for these early scholar-translators. In the lengthy notes that preface his work, Hanshichi devoted space to considering the question. His work was called *Murasaki's Writings in the Gibberish of Fisherfolk*, he wrote, because he had 'gathered together words from the vulgar language and the phrasing is lower-class'.[140] He explained that the title comes from the scene in the 'Akashi' chapter where the exiled noble Genji overhears the 'strange gibberish of the humble fisherfolk'.[141] The image of Genji the elegant aristocrat enduring exile in coarse and countrified surroundings that recurs throughout the 'Suma' and 'Akashi' chapters and the distress he feels at this are powerful metaphors which underlie the translator's view of the way he treated *Genji* by forcefully 'bringing it into the vulgar language' for a 'low-ranking' audience.[142] Elsewhere Hanshichi compares the original to Sunday-best robes (*haregi* 晴着) and his translation to a 'tear-soaked, patched-up everyday robe'.[143] Previous translators had displayed a degree of self-deprecation in their descriptions of their work by suggesting it was a

139 '*Zuibun yahi na zokugon o ire tōseikotoba o kashitaru nite*' ずいぶん野鄙な俗言をいれ当世詞の和したるにて (Miyake 1991, p. 262).

140 '*Kotogotoku zokugo o hiroiatsume, sono buntsuzuki mo hisen naru o sen ni mochii, katsu daigō o mo, shibun ama no saezuri to nazuketari*' こと＼／く俗語をひろひあつめ、その文つゞきも卑賤なるを詮に用ひ、且題号をも、紫文あまのさへづりと名つけたり (Taga 1915, p. 4).

141 '*Ayashiki ama domo nado no saezuri*' あやしきあまどもなどのさへづり (Taga 1915, p. 4).

142 '*Zokugo ni hikinaoshite*' 俗語にひきなおして and '*shimotsukata*' 下つかた (Taga, 1915), pp. 5 and 3.

143 '*Yogore shiotarete tsugihagiatetaru uchigi*' よごれ鹽垂れてつぎはぎあてたる褻着 (Taga 1915, p. 4).

substitute for the real thing, but there was nowhere near the level of anxiety observed in Hanshichi's writings.[144]

The reason is that Hanshichi was translating within a particular field of production, that is, *Genji* scholarship, and in this context large-scale vernacular translation was unprecedented.[145] His attitude strikes a contrast with the earlier translations that were part of the developing literary scene in which it was acceptable to play with classical texts in a vernacular medium. Indeed, Hanshichi's work was the first *Genji* translation to be taken seriously by scholars. *The Gibberish of Fisherfolk* was classified by the *Gunsho ichiran* bibliography as belonging with *Genji* commentaries and was known and read well into the nineteenth century.[146] The prominent philologist and Kokugaku scholar Suzuki Akira (1764–1837), for one, was aware of it and in the 1830s oversaw a translation of the fifth chapter as a continuation of Hanshichi's project.[147] One decade later, another significant scholarly figure, Tsurumine Shigenobu (1788–1859), a linguist active in both Dutch studies and Kokugaku, was involved in the production of a second translation that had been inspired by *The Gibberish of Fisherfolk*.[148]

## Norinaga translates

*The Gibberish of Fisherfolk* and *The Man from the Past* were hybrid works, written with an eye to scholarship but illustrated and published by the commercial print industry in a format and for a market similar to the translations that had gone before. However, at the end of the eighteenth century, the influential scholar Motoori Norinaga produced a translation of the *Poems Ancient and Modern* anthology that was to legitimize the use of translation by scholars and spark a series of imitative translations produced for a narrower, scholarly audience.

144 Miyako no Nishiki likened his translation to 'the cat doted on by Onna Sannomiya' (*Onna Sannomiya ni kawayugarareshi neko* 女三の宮に愛がられし猫), referring to the story in *Genji* in which, for Kashiwagi, the cat becomes a substitute for its mistress, whom he desires but cannot have. Likewise, the first preface to Masanobu's translation suggests his choice of title 'Wakakusa' means that it will be to a reader what the young Murasaki was to Genji – the 'young sprout' (*wakakusa*) who acts as substitute for her more mature aunt, the woman he wants but cannot have. In these works, though there is a motif of substitution, there is nowhere near the degree of anxiety about the act of translation as is found in *Murasaki's Writings in the Gibberish of Fisherfolk*. A discussion is available in Clements (forthcoming).

145 Here I follow Bourdieu's notion of fields of production (Bourdieu 1993).

146 Facsimile reprint in Ozaki 1979, p. 266.

147 *A Genji Telescope* (*Genji tōkagami*, 1842) discussed below.

148 *Genji in Rustic Language* (*Genji hinakotoba*, 1851), discussed below.

Born into a family of cotton wholesalers, the scholastically gifted Norinaga went on to earn his living as a doctor but is most famous for his work editing and interpreting ancient and classical Japanese texts.[149] Prior to Norinaga's day, a discourse on ancient Japanese had been developed by Keichū, followed by scholars such as Kada no Azumamaro (1669–1736), Kamo no Mabuchi (1697–1769), and Tanigawa Kotosuga (1709–76), who ordered their work according to notions of cultural and temporal difference: Japan was different from China and the present was different from the past.[150] Norinaga continued this in his philology, claiming to have recovered the ancient language of Japan's oldest chronicle, *Record of Ancient Matters* (*Kojiki*, *c.*eighth century), and seeking within this text a unique Japanese cultural identity that called into question the universalist claims of Confucian scholars. Norinaga was also interested in waka poetry as the expression of a private realm of native experience. Both this interest in recovering the meaning of texts written in the language of times past, coupled with a sense of the importance of waka poetry are present in his translation of the *Poems Ancient and Modern*, entitled *A Telescope for the Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern* (*Kokinshū tōkagami*), completed in 1793 and printed in 1797.[151]

However, influential though Norinaga's *Telescope* was later to become, it should be noted here that it was not the first translation of *Poems Ancient and Modern* to appear in print. Norinaga's text had circulated in manuscript for several years among his followers when in 1796 a rival version, *Poems Ancient and Modern in Rustic Language* (*Kokinshū hinakotoba*) by the scholar Ozaki Masayoshi (1755–1827), appeared in print.[152] Less is known about the life and work of Ozaki Masayoshi. Based in Osaka and writing about both Japanese and Chinese literature, he is best known as the compiler of the *Gunsho ichiran* bibliography, mentioned previously.[153] Of the sixty works by Masayoshi listed in the most comprehensive modern bibliography of pre- and early modern Japanese texts, three in addition to *Poems Ancient and Modern in Rustic Language* are 'rustic language' (*hinakotoba*) works dealing with *Ise*, *Collection of Myriad Leaves*, and *One Hundred Poets*, but none of these possible translations are known to be extant.[154] When Masayoshi's translation of *Poems Ancient and Modern*

149 On Norinaga's work, see the seminal study by T. J. Harper (1971).
150 The following section is indebted to Burns 2003, pp. 68–101.
151 On this work, including a translation of Norinaga's preface, see Harper 1996.
152 On this text, see Gotō 1989.
153 On the life of Masayoshi, see Ōkawa and Minami 1934, pp. 879–81.
154 *Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku*.

appeared, Norinaga's supporters accused Masayoshi of foul play and quickly published their teacher's translation. The general consensus now is that although Masayoshi may have been inspired to produce a work like *Poems Ancient and Modern in Rustic Language* by the example of Norinaga's translation, a detailed comparison reveals the translations to be different in their choice of language.[155] What they share is that for Norinaga and Masayoshi, translation was a philological tool for interpreting Japanese poetry.[156] Their texts were written as commentaries for scholars. Evidence may be found in the preface to Norinaga's work, discussed below, and by the way in which Masayoshi classified both texts together with commentaries in *Grnsho ichiran* his bibliography.[157]

Previous authors of intralingual translations of *Genji* and *Ise* had for the most part left the poems untouched, or else glossed them with a prose explanation. Likewise, explanations found in commentaries had involved elements of intralingual rewording before, and translation of waka was even a method used intermittently by Miyake Yarai in *The Man from the Past*. However, Norinaga's manuscript, followed closely by Masayoshi's printed work, was the first time such a method was made explicit, or practised in a form that consistently attempted to capture the source poem in its entirety throughout. Another previous work, *A Haikai Version of Genji* (*Haikai Genji*, 1749), had also replaced the original waka, this time with haiku (or, more correctly, haikai) poems.[158] However, it was a playful attempt to create a new work by bringing out the supposed 'haikai-ness' of *Genji*, and many of the replacement poems merely pick up a theme contained in the original waka or are new compositions, though some are arguably translations in a narrower sense.[159] The approach of Norinaga and Masayoshi in which translation becomes a tool of exegesis, a means of annotating the source waka was entirely new.

Table 5, for example, is poem 616 of *Poems Ancient and Modern* followed by Norinaga's and Masayoshi's translations.[160]

155 e.g., Takase 1987 but see also Itō 1982.

156 I am grateful to Ivo Smits for suggesting this turn of phrase.

157 Ozaki 1979, p. 309. Interestingly, in this entry Masayoshi was self-deprecating about his commentary, describing it as for 'women and children who find the commentaries difficult to understand even if they read them' (*chūshaku no sho o mitemo wakimaegataku suru jijo* 注釈の書を見てもわきまへがたくする児女).

158 By artist and author Tatebe Ayatari (1719–74). Several manuscript versions of this work exist, and it is also known as *Fūga endan* 風雅艶談 ('Elegant Tales of Men and Women'). The modern scholar Matsuo Katsurō has written extensively on this text. For an introduction, see Matsuo 1990.

159 Matsuo 1993.

160 This poem was chosen because it appears in the *Ise* episode discussed above and interested readers may find it a useful point of comparison.

Table 5 *Comparative extracts from translations of* Poems Ancient and Modern *(poem 616)*

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Classical 'source' | 起きもせず寝もせで夜をあかしては春の物とてながめ暮しつ[161] | Neither waking nor sleeping<br>I see out the night<br>My day is spent watching<br>the rains of spring fall. |
| *Telescope for the Collection of Poems Ancient and Modern*, 1793 | オキルデモナシネルデモナシニウツラ＼／トシテ夜ヲアカシテハ 又昼ニナレバ 此ゴロノ空ノヤウニ 長雨ハ春ノ物デ一日ナガメテシンキニ思ウテクラスヂヤ[162] | In [a state of] neither waking nor sleeping I pass the night in a daze; and then when it has become daytime, as is the way of the sky at this time of year with the long rains of spring – well! I spend all day watching them lost in fretful thought. |
| *Poems Ancient and Modern in Rustic Language*, 1796 | おきるでもなしねるでもなしに、うつら＼／とものをおもふて、よるを明してひるになれバ、又このせつの春のものじゃと思ふて長雨の空をながめて、しんきに一日くらします[163] | In [a state of] neither waking nor sleeping I pass the night in a daze of thought, and then when it is daytime I gaze at the rainy sky and think 'Such is the way of this season, spring!' and pass the whole day with a heavy heart. |

Norinaga's translations do not attempt to convey the poetic form of the original, but are much longer, littered with glosses, and often contain sections of commentary at the end. Little concession is made to either poetry or readability – this is not a replacement for the text. Instead, Norinaga expects the reader to use his translations, comments, and annotations as tools for understanding the original.[164] His use of colloquialisms, rather than a more formal, written vernacular style, reflects an understanding of waka as essentially an oral medium and one which was above all the spontaneous expression of feeling. In Norinaga's understanding, the conventions of waka poetry were not the exclusive property of elites, but were rather the manifestations of a pure and authentic language that was 'natural' and 'universal' to all Japanese.[165] By translating *Poems Ancient and Modern* into a vernacular that his students could respond to instantaneously and instinctively, Norinaga was attempting to help them penetrate the primal feelings that had inspired the poets

[161] Kojima and Arai 1989, p. 191. I am uncertain which version Norinaga used.
[162] Motoori 1969, p. 170. [163] Gotō 1989 vol. I, p. 342. [164] Harper 1996, p. 207.
[165] Flueckiger 2011, pp. 179–84.

themselves.[166] Such textual evidence as exists suggests that Norinaga's *Telescope* was indeed used as a reading aid for studying the *Poems Ancient and Modern*.[167]

Masayoshi's approach is strikingly similar, and no doubt was part of the reason his translation was greeted with suspicion by Norinaga's group. The beginning is almost identical to Norinaga's translation. The second half is reworded slightly differently to Norinaga's but the understanding of the poem is the same, and Masayoshi has also used the colloquial exclamation '*ja*'. One of the main differences between the two texts is in the format: Norinaga included the translation in square-form kana in the main body of the text following the poem, which was given in cursive kana, while Masayoshi's text is almost entirely in cursive kana and the translations are included in the form of headnotes, mirroring the format of more traditional commentaries.[168]

Masayoshi's translation contains no remarks other than a brief afterword; however, Norinaga included a detailed series of meditations on the nature and difficulties of vernacular translation. By turning his attention to the translation of waka, the great scholar lent intellectual weight to an activity that had previously been marginal to classical Japanese scholarship. Previous translations of *Genji* and *Ise* had been made largely for the commercial publishing industry. Though Hanshichi had attempted to position his translation as a work of *Genji* scholarship, the use of self-deprecating imagery throughout his prefatory remarks and indeed the title of the entire project, shows how he felt himself to be performing an act that would not be regarded as serious work and at worst might be considered damaging to the original. However, in Norinaga's hands translation was elevated to an act of up-to-date, technical precision.

The key image in Norinaga's schema is translation as telescope. He began his preface with the following poem likening the effect of vernacular translation to using this device to see leaves on a distant mountain:

Wrapt in cloud, the treetops, and far away; yet look into the telescope, and lo: autumn leaves on the mountain peak.

雲のゐるとほきこずゑもとほかゞみうつせばこゝにみねのもみぢ葉[169]

*Kumo no iru tōki kozue mo tōkagami/ utsuseba koko ni mine no momijiba*

[166] Harper 1996, p. 207. [167] Harper 1996, pp. 207–8.
[168] For a more detailed linguistic comparison of Norinaga and Masayoshi's translation methods, see Takase 1987.
[169] Motoori 1969, p. 5. Translation from Harper 1996, p. 209.

At the time when Norinaga was writing, techniques for producing telescopes were being mastered in Japan for the first time, and the image of a telescope stands for a new tool of technical precision.[170] Norinaga, for whom vernacular translation was a tool of philological exegesis, used the telescopic metaphor to explain why the new method of vernacular translation was warranted even though there were already numerous commentaries. Reading a commentary, he argued, was like trying to find out about the trees on a faraway mountain by asking one of the locals to describe them – it could never compare to seeing them with one's own eyes.[171] Vernacular translation, he argued, was far superior to such a method because like a telescope it could bring far off matters before the eyes with 'astonishing clarity'.[172] In Norinaga's schema, therefore, translation is a more accurate means of 'seeing' the source text than commentaries, which merely tell you about it second-hand. He places target and source texts on an equal footing. This is what has been described by Venuti as 'the illusion of transparency' suggesting a straightforward linguistic transfer in which the source and translated texts are equally authoritative and equally able to express the ideas in the source text.[173] Norinaga is boldly suggesting something similar in his use of the telescope metaphor in which the mountain scene and its telescopic projection appear to be the same.

## Translation post-Norinaga

### Translations of *A Hundred Poets, One Poem Each*

Norinaga's admirers and disciples followed his example and produced a series of works that used vernacular translation as a means of interpreting waka poetry. These included several translations of *One Hundred Poets*, which appeared in the decade following Norinaga's translation, between 1803 and 1810.[174] The first two – *A Walk Through the Ogura One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each Mountain* (*Hyakunin isshū Ogura no yamabumi*, completed 1802, printed 1803), and *A Ladder to the Peak of One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each* (*Hyakunin isshū mine no kakehashi*, 1806) – were independent projects completed at around the same time.

[170] The first telescope appears to have been introduced to Japan in 1613 (Mikami 1947, p. 102). Initially, telescopes were imported by Dutch traders until the art of making them was mastered by Japanese artisans. At first all smoked glass was imported but the Japanese began making it in 1800 (Nakayama 1969, p. 197).
[171] Motoori 1969, p. 5, Harper 1996, p. 209.
[172] Translation from Harper 1996, p. 209.
[173] Venuti 2008, p. 1.
[174] These works and their major textual variants are reproduced in modern transcription with commentary in Nagata 2001.

The authors were Nakatsu Motoyoshi (dates unknown) and Kinugawa Nagaaki (1765–1822), two relatively minor students of Norinaga. Nagaaki's translation was the better regarded of the two. It was revised by Norinaga's adopted son, Motoori Ōhira (1756–1833) and given the title *A Catalpa Bow for the One Hundred Poets, One Poem Each* (*Hyakunin isshū azusa yumi*, 1810). This later version was particularly widely circulated and there are numerous variant manuscript editions.[175] These three translations pay homage to Norinaga's *Telescope* either in their title or prefatory remarks and follow Norinaga's lead in the choice of vernacular alternatives to the particles of classical grammar.[176] They use the translations contained in Norinaga's *Telescope* for those poems in the *One Hundred Poets* collection that also appear in *Poems Ancient and Modern*. For the most part, the latter translators also adopt Norinaga's format of citing the original in cursive kana together with Chinese characters, followed by the text of the translation in square-form kana together with Chinese characters. Previous translations of *Ise* and *Genji*, discussed earlier, had omitted the source text and been written in a combination of Chinese characters and cursive kana. The new choice of orthography distinguished between the translation and the source text and was also likely modelled after the format of traditional commentaries which gave the commentator's contribution in square-form kana and Chinese characters.

### *A Genji Telescope* (1842)

Likewise, Norinaga's *Telescope* also directly inspired a partial translation of *Genji*, derivatively entitled *A Genji Telescope* (*Genji tōkagami*) by Kurita Naomasa (1807–1891), which was printed in 1842 and included only the fifth chapter ('Wakamurasaki'). The preliminary remarks to this work state that the translation method was chosen in imitation of Norinaga's example and this is supported by the format, which, like Norinaga's *Telescope*, gives the source text in Chinese characters and cursive kana followed by a vernacular translation in Chinese characters and square-form kana.[177] Prior to *A Genji Telescope*, this format had only been applied to poetry and Naomasa was the first to experiment with using it for prose. The difficulty of course being that the inclusion of the source text made the resulting work extremely long. This is perhaps why only one chapter was translated.

175 Nagata 2001, pp. 181–206. 176 Michii 1987, Fukai and Michii 1986.

177 The preliminary remarks were not printed but a draft survives in Naomasa's notes and is reprinted in modern characters in Ozaki and Noda 1991, pp. 4–5.

Like Norinaga, who used elements from the spoken language when translating the waka oral poetic form, Naomasa used an early modern polite spoken copula *gozarimasuru* ゴザリマスル and *gozarimashita* ゴザリマシタ when translating speech in *Genji*. He acknowledged that the Japanese language varied between regions. Thus, according to the preliminary remarks (*hanrei* 凡例) to his translation, there was a conscious decision to ensure consistency and the medium of the translation was fixed as 'for the most part, the language of the central regions close to the capital' – that is to say, the language of the Osaka-Kyoto or *kamigata* region.[178]

Naomasa was a student of the prominent philologist and Kokugaku scholar Suzuki Akira who had studied under Norinaga. Like his teacher before him, Akira was interested in the Japanese language. He was one of the foremost grammarians of the early modern period and authored several works comparing vernacular with classical forms of Japanese, including a glossary, *Translations and Interpretations of Classical Japanese* (*Gago yakkai*, 1821), in which he cited Norinaga's *Telescope* as inspiration.[179] According to the preliminary remarks to *A Genji Telescope*, Akira was familiar with the partial translation contained in the printed edition of *The Gibberish of Fisherfolk* and had wished to continue the translation of *Genji* himself, but was too busy and so the task fell to Naomasa.[180] However, Akira did participate closely in the project, as evidenced by his detailed corrections to an extant draft.[181] The inclusion of colloquialisms in *A Genji Telescope* reflects Akira's growing interest in the differences between classical and vernacular registers of Japanese, and in *Translations and Interpretations of Classical Japanese* he cites Norinaga's argument that translation is superior to commentary as a means of moving between the two.[182]

### *A Hand Skein for the Tale of Genji* (1848) and *Genji in Rustic Language* (1851)

By the nineteenth century, then, vernacular translation was becoming an accepted method for studying works written in the classical language, and was advocated and practised by important scholars like Norinaga and Akira.[183] Later translations of *Genji*, such as *A Hand Skein for the Tale of*

178 '*Daitai chūgoku no kotoba*' 大体中国の詞 (Ozaki and Noda 1991, p. 4).
179 Suzuki 1821, 4r. 180 Ozaki and Noda 1991, p. 4.
181 Ozaki and Noda 1991, pp. 7–9.
182 Suzuki 1821, 4r. Akira's view of language is discussed in Chapter 1 of the present monograph.
183 There was at least one other attempt to translate a classical text as a work of scholarship, but this exists only in an undated manuscript, held by the Tōkai University Library. Moreover, this text, *A Vernacular Interpretation of the Moon on the Lake Commentary*

*Genji* (*Genji monogatari shizu no odamaki*, 1848) and *Genji in Rustic Language* (*Genji hinakotoba*, 1851) reflect this trend. For one thing, their authors were private scholars, not commercial artists or writers. *A Hand Skein for the Tale of Genji* was translated by the Sendai domain medic Kuwabara Yukinori (1777– ?), who came from a scholarly family and whose grandmother, Kuwabara Yayoko (dates unknown) was the author of an early commentary on the late tenth-century work *Tale of the Hollow Tree* (*Utsuho monogatari*).[184] *Genji in Rustic Language* was translated by Usuki Umehiko (dates unknown). The preface was written by Tsurumine Shigenobu, a scholar active in the fields of Dutch studies and Kokugaku, in particular Japanese linguistics, and who may therefore have been Usuki's teacher.[185] *A Handskein* and *Genji in Rustic Language* exist only in manuscript, but in a form that suggest they were being prepared for publication in print.[186] Both translators attempted to transpose the story of *Genji* and to a large extent the language in a vernacular medium with a high degree of accuracy, and *Genji in Rustic Language* includes a lengthy introduction to the source text.[187] The influence of Norinaga may also be seen in the fact that both works are devoid of anxiety about the act of vernacular translation and do not need a lengthy defence of the subject, suggesting there had indeed been a change in attitudes from the time when *The Gibberish of Fisherfolk* was produced.[188]

There is, however, a common factor linking the earlier, commercial translators with the scholar translators of later decades. As far as it is possible to tell, throughout the Tokugawa-period translators were

(*Kogetsushō genkai*) appears to have been an attempt to translate *Genji* in full. The only known copy is an undated manuscript 44 volumes long, covering from the first chapter of *Genji* to the last; however, the 'Utsusemi' through to the 'Wakamurasaki', 'Hatsune', 'Makibashira', and 'Wakana' jō/ge chapters are missing, probably lost (*Kogetsushō genkai* (n.d.)). Ii Haruki suggests that *A Vernacular Interpretation of the Moon on the Lake Commentary* is a transcription of the original with interlineal commentary. See Ii 2001, p. 357. However, Ikeda notes correctly that it is a vernacular translation with interlineal glosses (Ikeda 1960, vol. II, p. 100). It appears to have been a work of detailed scholarship intended for private consumption.

184 Information about the life of Yukinori is scarce, and secondary materials often contain mistakes, such as *Kokusho sōgō mokuroku*, which gives the pronunciation of his name as Josoku (*Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku* ). For evidence of the correct reading (Yukinori), see Satō 2009, p. 31.

185 An introduction to the life and work of Tsurumine Shigenobu is available in Fujiwara 1973, pp. 20–96.

186 *A Hand Skein for the Tale of Genji* is available in two copies. The more complete edition is Kuwabara, 1848 (vols. XXXII and XXXIII missing). The other extant copy is of the 'Kiritsubo' chapter only (Kuwabara (n.d.)). The only copy of *Genji in Rustic Language* is Usuki 1851.

187 An analysis of some aspects of Yukinori's translation methods is available in Shimauchi 2010, pp. 32–8.

188 For a more detailed analysis, see Clements (forthcoming).

individuals writing in the service of largely private agendas: personal profit, reputation, a desire to educate. The changes that occurred in Japanese society during the late nineteenth century, however, were to have an effect on the translation of the classics. The men who translated classical texts in the Meiji period were, for the most part, scholar bureaucrats or teachers employed by the state.

## What was not translated?

It was not until one such translator, Sasaki Hirotsuna (1828–91), a lecturer at Tokyo University, published a series of textbooks between 1860 and 1880 that classical Japanese texts other than *Genji*, *Ise*, *Poems Ancient and Modern*, and *One Hundred Poets* were translated using the kind of approaches seen above (as opposed to traditional commentary, adaptation, parody, etc).[189] This begs the question: why was it these texts and not others that were translated in the Tokugawa period? It is undoubtedly the case that their poetic content was a factor. The classical 'Japanese studies' (*wagaku*) canon that was established in the medieval period centred on poetry, and although in the early modern period Kokugaku scholars branched out to consider works like *Record of Ancient Matters* and *Chronicles of Japan* (*Nihon shoki*, 720), poetic texts like *Genji*, *Ise*, and the *Poems Ancient and Modern* continued to be important.

On the other hand, it may be the case that there were translations of other works that are yet to come to light. The important role accorded to *Genji*, *Ise*, together with *Poems Ancient and Modern* in the modern narrative of Japanese literary history may mean that modern scholars recorded instances where they came across translations of these more 'important' texts and at times produced studies of them. It is frustratingly difficult to tell. There is no category for 'vernacular translation' in the most complete modern catalogue of Tokugawa and Meiji-period works; the translations examined in this chapter are categorized as commentaries – *chūshaku* 注釈 – or works of fiction – *kanazōshi* 仮名草子 and *ukiyozōshi* 浮世草子.[190] However, a search of the online version of this catalogue for the kinds of naming conventions used on the works known to be vernacular translations (titles involving the terms for 'vernacular' found in the translations unearthed so far, like *zoku*, *hinakotoba*, etc.) yields nothing that turns out to be a vernacular translation along the lines examined here. If there are vernacular translations of other classical works waiting to be discovered, they are buried deep indeed.

[189] Nagata 2007. [190] *Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku*.

However, it may also be that the contents of other classical works were not such as to prompt a translation response. *Essays in Idleness* in particular was widely disseminated during the Tokugawa period and canonized as a manual for written composition and as a source of moral instruction. Yet on the available evidence it was not translated. Though the text was used for teaching people beyond traditional scholarly circles – Matsunaga Teitoku (1571–1653) famously gave lectures on *Essays in Idleness* to young townsmen from Kyoto – the fact that the work's value lay partly in the use of its language as a model may account for why this was not transferred into another linguistic medium.[191] It is also worth noting that following the work's wider dissemination and growing popularity, scholars attempted to wrest back interpretive control of *Essays in Idleness*, and this may also explain the lack of vernacular translations in circulation. Teitoku, who was himself not of the nobility, later regretted transgressing the established practice of scholarly transmission in his lectures, which were open to one and all. Motivated by the horror apparently felt among the nobility at his lectures, Teitoku attempted to re-mystify *Essays in Idleness* by establishing a secret tradition for its interpretation in imitation of the secret transmission tradition that had surrounded *Poems Ancient and Modern* in centuries past.[192]

Another factor to consider is that *Genji*, *Ise*, *Poems Ancient and Modern*, and *One Hundred Poets* are all relatively difficult texts in comparison to those for which no vernacular translations are known. Most students of classical Japanese today will identify with the experience of having struggled to understand *Genji* only to turn to another work from the same period and realize that classical Japanese can be read with something approaching ease. Likewise, the complexities of the waka poetry tradition as contained in *Ise*, *Poems Ancient and Modern*, and *One Hundred Poets* were what prompted Norinaga to first use vernacular translation as a means of understanding their like. Works such as *Essays in Idleness* and *The Pillow Book* (*Makura no sōshi*), a collection of essays on court life composed *c.*1002, which was read and taught during the early modern period but does not appear to have been translated, do not contain the same degree of poetic content as these other texts, nor are they as linguistically or conceptually as complex as *Genji*.[193]

[191] On the reception of *Essays in Idleness* and Teitoku's lectures, see Chance 1997, 2000.
[192] Chance 2000, pp. 123–7.
[193] On the early modern reception of *The Pillow Book*, see Yamamoto 1960 and Inoue 1967.

## Conclusion

Beginning with translation as a means of providing new works for the rapidly expanding commercial print industry, it was in the Tokugawa period that readers could for the first time experience a narrative reading of the 'original' *Genji*, *Ise*, *Poems Ancient and Modern*, and *One Hundred Poets* in a vernacular medium. This medium was 'vernacular' in that it represented a form of the written language of the day, as opposed to the written courtly language of the Heian period. Many of the translators discussed here modestly claim that their work was intended for 'women and children' or even provide anecdotes about women reading them, and this was probably true in part. However, it is highly likely that men of samurai or merchant classes who had some level of literacy but not a high level of education in the Japanese classics would also have read these works. We also know that men of high education, scholars like Ozaki Masayoshi, Suzuki Akira, and Tsurumine Shigenobu read at least two vernacular translations in addition to making their own, as there is textual evidence all three were aware of both *The Gibberish of Fisherfolk* and Norinaga's *Telescope*.

Moreover, from the end of the eighteenth century full-time scholars began not only to read, but also to translate classical texts for the benefit of other scholars. Motoori Norinaga's translation and the translations of *One Hundred Poets* that were made by his pupils make few concessions to readability and are clearly intended for consumption by other scholars. Unlike the original texts themselves and commentaries, which were only accessible to those with a high degree of education, vernacular translation was thus an access method common to scholarly and less-educated readers alike.

Vernacular translation was at the heart of profound changes that occurred in literacy and readership during Japan's early modern period, and the move towards vernacularization was seen also in the other fields of translation discussed in this book. The next chapter considers how translation methods figured in the reception of Chinese texts, both from the perspective of scholarly and less-educated readers.

# 3 'Chinese' texts

Just as the commercial print industry and new channels of knowledge transfer revolutionized the accessibility of classical Japanese texts during Japan's early modern period, so too texts written using the Chinese writing system were subject to new readerships and translations. The arrival of texts from the Asian continent centuries earlier had precipitated more than one thousand years of Japanese engagement with Chinese literature that continues to the present day. The kinds of 'Chinese' works available in Japan varied, and included texts composed in China and to a lesser extent the Korean peninsula, as well as those written in Japan by local scholars who were trained in the Chinese writing system. Over the centuries, a number of modes of engagement developed in Japan for dealing with various kinds of works written using the Chinese writing system. Focusing on the Tokugawa period with an eye to the centuries before, this chapter examines the role played by translation in the ways that Japanese readers approached Chinese texts: what kinds of translation strategies were used? Which texts were translated and which were not? Who was responsible for the translations? And how did the answers to these questions change over time?

## Pre-Tokugawa history of Chinese in Japan

Despite the best efforts of patriotic philologists to prove otherwise, the available evidence suggests there was no script used in the Japanese archipelago until the arrival of Chinese writing, or 'Han [dynasty] writing' (*kanbun* 漢文) as it was called and continues to be called in Japan today.[1] It is difficult to date this arrival exactly and it is unclear when writing associated with the Han dynasty first came to be used in earnest as a means of conveying linguistic content in the Japanese archipelago. The earliest written artefacts found in Japan are Han coins and mirrors dating

[1] On the early history of writing in Japan, see Lurie 2011, pp. 15–166. For an overview of Sino-Japanese interaction in history, see Fogel 2009, pp. 7–50.

from the first century BC. Since these are usually discovered in tombs and the inscriptions upon them are brief and inexpertly written, it is likely that at this stage writing functioned as a sign of status or as a talisman conveying magical properties. By at least the fifth century AD, and probably by the end of the fourth, Chinese books had arrived in the hands of literate immigrants from the continent.[2] However, it was not until the seventh century that significant evidence of literacy emerges in Japan with the spread of Mahayana Buddhism and the growing administrative apparatus that accompanied the early processes of state formation along Chinese – that is to say, Tang dynasty – lines.[3]

A wide variety of Chinese texts, both secular and sacred, became available to early Japanese elites. In addition to the literate immigrants from the mainland who settled in the islands of the Japanese archipelago in the seventh and eight centuries, members of the official missions to the Sui and Tang courts in China, the Silla court on the Korean peninsula and the court in Parhae (Bohai) in what is modern-day Heilongjian also brought back texts.[4] From the early eighth century, scholars and monks began actively to seek out books on the Chinese continent, and probably in the kingdoms of the Korean peninsula as well. Diplomatic missions to the continent from the Heian court ceased in 911, and there were occasional Chinese bans on the export of books, but in the centuries that followed the introduction of Chinese texts, scholar monks and Chinese trading vessels were the main sources of books imported to Japan.[5]

The study of Chinese texts influenced the development of indigenous literature, law, religion, and philosophy.[6] Mayahana Buddhism, which is based upon a large number of texts translated into or composed in literary Chinese, was an important locus point of reading and writing. Likewise, Chinese documents relating to statecraft, law, and administration were studied and became the inspiration for public records, rules of administration, educational writings, and ritual texts composed by Japanese elites, who wrote using the Chinese writing system.[7] Various genres of Chinese

[2] Kornicki 1998, pp. 278–79. [3] Lurie 2011, pp. 115–66.
[4] Kornicki 1998, pp. 279–80.
[5] The major ban on the export of Chinese books occurred during the Song Dynasty, when, in an attempt to control the outflow of information on current affairs to potential enemies, regulation of cross-border book smuggling outlawed the export of all but the Confucian classics (De Weerdt 2006). On the history of book imports to Japan, see Kornicki 1998, pp. 277–319.
[6] On Chinese texts composed in Japan, see Ōsone 1972. There are many overviews of this phenomenon and studies of individual cases are too numerous to list. For an overview, Okada 1954, Makino 1943, and Shibunkai 1977, in Japanese are helpful, and in English Kurozumi and David Lurie 2000.
[7] Kurozumi and David Lurie 2000, pp. 202–5.

*belles lettres* were also important. The ability to compose a 'Han poem' (*kanshi* 漢詩) was an important skill for court and monastic elites, and the Tang poet, Bai Juyi (772–846) was glorified by the Heian court to an extent that would have surprised readers on the mainland.[8] Chinese dynastic histories inspired Japanese projects like the *Chronicles of Japan* (*Nihon shoki*, 720).

Chinese writing was also the tool by which the Japanese language crossed the threshold from a spoken to a written language.[9] Initially, rudimentary Japanese vernacular communications seem to have been written using logographic Chinese characters, either according to the norms of Chinese syntax and intended to be decoded back into a form of Japanese, or with the order of the Chinese characters modified by Japanese syntactical norms. In addition, a set of Chinese characters came also to be used for their phonetic value, to represent the sounds of Japanese. As these characters used for sound were gradually abbreviated over time two phonographic scripts developed. The square-form, known to later generations as katakana, was used by Buddhist scholars to gloss Chinese character texts, and was later employed in a scholarly prose style that combined square-form kana with Chinese loanwords written in Chinese script and was influenced by Chinese grammar. The second phonographic script, the cursive form which later became the basis for hiragana, was used for vernacular Japanese poetry (waka), as well as the narrative prose used in tale literature, such as the *Tale of Genji*, which mixed in fewer Chinese elements.

Prior to the Tokugawa period, written Chinese literacy was, with some exceptions, the prerogative of men from court elites and the religious orders with whom they were closely affiliated.[10] During the medieval period (1185–1600), the Five Temple Complex of Zen monasteries became the locus of Chinese studies (*kangaku* 漢学, lit. Han studies), focusing on Buddhist works and to a lesser extent texts associated with Confucianism. Because of their connections with Chinese Zen masters who had been invited from the continent to Kamakura and Kyoto by the Hōjō family of shogunal regents, monks from the Five Temples were also familiar to varying degrees with spoken Chinese. The Tenryūji temple is particularly noteworthy in this respect and produced printed editions of

[8] For a recent introduction, see Shizunaga 2010.
[9] On the development of the Japanese writing system, see Miller 1967, pp. 91–140 and Lurie 2011.
[10] Kurozumi and David Lurie 2000. On early female literacy in classical Chinese, see Mostow 2001.

Chinese texts that contained vernacular elements.[11] Unlike China, where the civil service examination system was a means of social mobility whereby talented youths who studied the Confucian classics could obtain a post in government, in Japan official positions were hereditary and so the study of Confucian works was not as widespread. It was not until the Tokugawa period that the study of works associated with Chinese traditions other than Buddhism became important, and Chinese studies moved beyond the temple complexes.

## Chinese studies in Tokugawa Japan

The contours of Chinese studies changed during the Tokugawa period as it became increasingly important to the legitimacy of the state.[12] The most pressing problems for Tokugawa rulers in the seventeenth century were the balancing of military and political forces and the preservation of power in a hostile and fragile world; to shore up their new regime they drew upon a combination of native religion, Buddhism, and Neo-Confucianism, employing scholars of Chinese to do so.[13] Confucianism was also of use to daimyo lords as a literary tradition that provided the style and substance for drafting regulations for the governing of their vassals.[14] Chinese became increasingly a skill by which a scholar could earn a living: either under shogunate or daimyo patronage, or by founding a private academy where growing numbers of young men eager to get ahead as doctors of Chinese medicine, teachers, or administrators came to study.

Private academies, domain schools, and private elementary schools (*terakoya*) developed with rising standards of living and the growing prestige of sinology, providing some people from the samurai, urban commoner, and peasant classes with a place to learn Chinese.[15] Since many of these readers could not afford a private tutor and were not part of older institutions of scholarship and patronage, entrepreneurs in the commercial publishing industry filled the gap with reading aids: simple commentaries, introductory works, *kundoku* annotated editions, and, increasingly, printed *kundoku* transcriptions.[16] Private academies also

[11] On the Five Temple Complex, see Collcutt 1981. On the vernacular printings of the Tenryūji, see Nakamura 1984, p. 294.

[12] Kurozumi 2000.

[13] Ooms 1985. This is not to suggest that Confucianism was solely a hegemonic discourse for the benefit of Tokugawa power: other scholars used the philosophy as a means of critiquing the society of their day (McMullen 1999, pp. 464–72). For an overview of Confucianism in Tokugawa discourse, see also Boot 2013, and Nosco 1984.

[14] Ooms 1985, pp. 19–20.

[15] On education in Tokugawa Japan, see Dore 1965.

[16] Suzuki 2007.

produced their own introductory works, initially for the benefit of their pupils, but many of these were later more widely circulated in print.[17] Although the majority of those who studied Chinese texts in the Tokugawa period were still male, some samurai daughters were expected to have a degree of Chinese literacy, there were notable female literati who were active as Chinese poets and painters during the period, and some women ran their own academies.[18]

The types of books imported to Japan during the Tokugawa period also had a profound effect on the contours of Chinese studies and on fiction produced by the commercial print industry. For centuries, the Korean peninsula had for Japanese elites been a source of works written using Chinese characters. During the Tokugawa period the Confucian scholar Hayashi Razan, among others, drew upon texts which had been brought back to Japan as plunder by Zen monks who had accompanied Hideyoshi's armies during the ill-fated 1592–8 invasion attempt.[19] Korean examples probably inspired Razan to make his translations and simplified Japanese explanations of Confucian classics, discussed below. In addition, Chinese-language works came to Japan via the Ryukyu Kingdom (modern-day Okinawa), which was under the control of Satsuma domain but traded officially with China.[20]

The Tokugawa period also saw the importation of new forms of Chinese narrative fiction that incorporated a high degree of vernacular content. Along with their trading cargo of raw silk, Chinese merchants at Nagasaki brought books, not only classical scholarly works but also new types of vernacular narrative fiction that developed in the Ming and Qing periods, and which were eagerly consumed, reprinted, and mined for inspiration by Japanese readers.[21] By the nineteenth century, 'virtually the entire literary imagination of late imperial China . . . was available to the Japanese reading public'.[22] As Ming and later, Qing novels became increasingly popular among Japanese readers they inspired new styles of narrative fiction in the local publishing industry. As we saw in Chapter 1,

[17] A famous example of this is Ogyū Sorai's *Glossed Translations for Instructing the Ignorant* (*Kun'yaku jimō*, 1738), which was published after Sorai's death by one of his pupils. A collection of introductory works on the study of classical Chinese texts is available in Nagasawa 1975.

[18] On women's literacy in Chinese during the Tokugawa period, see Kornicki 2010b, pp. 17–19, Sakaki 2006, pp. 103–42, and Fister 1991.

[19] See Kornicki 2013b; Abe 1965, pp. 171–2; and Murakami 2005, pp. 163–9. On Razan's use of Korean sources, see Abe 1965, pp. 149–228.

[20] On the history of Ryukyuan trade, see the essays contained in Yamamoto Hirofumi Sensei Kanreki Kinen Ronshū Iinkai 1985, and Yokoyama 1987.

[21] The seminal study on the importation of Chinese works is Ōba 1967.

[22] Zwicker 2006, p. 135.

this was matched by an interest in spoken vernacular Chinese among scholars who were interested in recapturing the original language of texts written in Chinese script and correctly interpreting the Chinese classics in Japan. Chinese imports comprised a significant percentage of the book trade in Japan's early modern era.[23]

## Literary versus vernacular Chinese

Since the differences between traditional or classical forms of written Chinese and vernacular forms became of issue in relation to translation in Japan's early modern period, it is necessary at this point to briefly discuss the difference between them. Throughout history, written Chinese has included many different, though often overlapping registers of language, each associated with particular genres as well as with differing levels of erudition.[24] One of the main points of difference that became an issue in Japan was the extent to which vocabulary and usages from spoken Chinese were found in written texts. Since the majority of Chinese texts that Japanese readers encountered in history were more stylized and had less in common with colloquial speech, the inclusion of vernacular elements in large numbers of texts imported in the Tokugawa period caused considerable difficulties.

The oldest forms of written Chinese probably developed as a stylized and abbreviated form of the spoken language, though scholars differ over the extent to which it ever reflected any living form of speech.[25] Its origins may be traced back to shell and bone oracle inscriptions *c.*1200 BC, though it was probably in the Zhou Dynasty (1046–256 BC) that this 'classical Chinese' became established as the written language, and was further standardized from the Qin (221–206 BC) through to the end of the Han period (AD 220). In the centuries that followed, scholars imitated the form of classical Chinese and began to write in a more elaborate version. This post-classical, written Chinese was the main written medium of government and of learning for the educated classes in China, and, later, in other parts of East Asia, and is the writing system in which the vast majority of pre-modern Chinese texts were inscribed.

Modern scholars writing in English call this writing system variously 'classical Chinese', 'literary Chinese', and 'literary Sinitic'.[26] All are

23 Zwicker 2006, pp. 125–32.
24 Brokaw 2005, pp. 11–14. See also Chang and Owen 2010, pp. xxii–xxiv.
25 Contrast Norman 1988, p. 83 and Mair 1994, p. 708. Mair argues that the difference between literary Sinitic and written vernacular Sinitic is not just a matter of diachronic change, such as that between classical and modern Japanese for example, but is rather 'a distinction between two separately structured linguistic media' (1994, p. 708).
26 For a discussion of this issue, see Mair 1994.

problematic for one reason or another, as are the terms used by East Asian nations that were part of the 'Sinosphere' – i.e., those regions which used written Chinese and absorbed the Chinese classics. The Latinate term 'Sinitic' is an attempt to rid what eventually became a pan-East Asian writing system of its seemingly exclusive ties to China; however, it still involves the idea of 'Chineseness' albeit wearing a Latin mask. Likewise, 'literary Chinese' is also problematic and confusing because most texts that use the vernacular are also 'literature', the most obvious examples being elaborate Ming and Qing prose narratives. In the same way, the Japanese, Korean, and Vietnamese terms – *kanbun*, *hanmun*, and *hán văn*, respectively – are unsatisfactory as their use is specific to particular linguistic groups.[27] Even the modern Mandarin term, *wenyan* ('literary language'), arguably has this kind of provincial connotation, belonging as it does to mainland China.

Although all the available terms are problematic, Victor Mair's suggestion of calling the written form of Chinese 'Sinitic' to distinguish it from spoken Chinese languages is most helpful for the early modern Japanese case and our purposes here. Although this is not to suggest that Sinitic is devoid of any links to speech, a conceptual distinction between spoken and written 'Chinese' is useful when discussing the early modern Japanese case because by the Tokugawa period most Japanese readers could not speak Chinese, and read Chinese texts using a form of translationese discussed below.

We may therefore delineate several types of Sinitic: classical Sinitic (until the Han period), post-classical Sinitic (a broad category of post-Han prose in imitation of the classical style but involving variations), and vernacular Sinitic (written forms approximating spoken speech). Classical and post-classical Sinitic, and the local or genre-based variations they encompass, may be loosely grouped together under the rubric of 'literary' Sinitic. Although this is not to suggest that texts containing vernacular Sinitic cannot be literary, the term 'literary Sinitic' is intended to point to the fact that classical or post-classical Sinitic texts are at a greater distance from spoken forms of speech, and that they were almost exclusively associated with the literary world of study and belletristic writing.

Unlike classical and post-classical literary Sinitic, vernacular Sinitic (白話 Ch. *baihua*, Jp. *hakuwa*, literally 'plain speech'), is, as its name suggests, closely related to spoken forms of speech. The written vernacular included a variety of types, such as transcriptions of dialect and performance literature, and, most prolifically, *guanhua* 官話 (language of officials, mandarin), a semi-standardized version of the Northern dialect. *Guanhua* was used by officials, merchants, and travellers to communicate

[27] Kornicki 2010a, p. 30. These terms are the reading for the character compound 漢文, literally, 'Han writing'.

verbally across dialects, and to transcribe speech in official documents. Later it was also used to provide simple explanations of classical texts for less-educated readers and became the basis for the language of short stories and the vernacular used in the famous novels of the late Ming period.[28] However, it was not until the language reforms of the twentieth century that texts predominantly in a written form of the vernacular became commonplace in China, and even then the classical training of authors from this time was evident in their prose.[29]

Since vernacular Chinese and literary Sinitic broadly speaking share a common grammar and a common script, it is possible for them to be present on the same page. It is in this form that the written vernacular appears throughout much of history.[30] The most numerous early examples of the vernacular lexicon and grammatical constructions permeating literary Sinitic texts are to be found in the literature of the Buddhist tradition, from translations of Buddhist texts into Sinitic in the second century AD, to explanatory 'transformation texts' (*bianwen* 変文) and Chan discourses (*yulu* 語錄) from the Tang (618–906) and Five Dynasties (907–960) periods.[31] The gradual move towards using more vernacular elements reached its culmination in the novels of the Ming and Qing periods. Among the most widely read, which were also brought to Japan, were *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*Sanguozhi yanyi*, prototypes *c.*1400, first extant edition 1522), *Water Margin* (*Shuihu zhuan*, prototypes *c.*1400, first extant edition 1589), *The Plum in the Golden Vase* (*Jin ping mei*, *c.*1580–90, first extant edition 1617–18), and *Journey to the West* (*Xiyou ji*, *c.*1580, first edition 1592). These authors chose to render the speech of their characters in the vernacular, but when it came to description, rather than forge a new descriptive prose in the vernacular, they relied on an allusive vocabulary and a compositional structure taken directly from the classical tradition, a situation that continued until *The Scholars* (*Rulin waishi* ) and *The Dream of the Red Chamber* (*Honglou meng*) in the Qianlong period (1736–95).[32]

Broadly speaking, then, it is possible to divide the post-classical Chinese writing system into two currents: one in which a conscious attempt was

[28] Hanan 1981, pp. 1–16, Mair 1994, pp. 728–30.
[29] Owen 2001. Owen argues that the sharp distinction between 'classical' and 'vernacular' Chinese began with the May Fourth movement.
[30] Hanan 1981, p. 14. The following discussion owes much to the work of Patrick Hanan, and draws upon Hanan 1981, pp. 4–11. On the differences between classical and written vernacular Sinitic, see Norman 1988, pp. 111–32.
[31] Mair 1994, p. 709. There were also vernacular dialogues preserved in works of history (Hanan 1981, p. 7).
[32] Hsia 1968, pp. 11–15.

made to reproduce the model prose of what had been defined as the classical era, and one which permitted or valorized the intrusion of vernacular elements to varying degrees.[33] In practice, there was a considerable amount of cross-fertilization between registers, such as the simplified classical Sinitic of the military romances, which was enriched with vernacular expressions, and both Yuan drama and Ming fiction in which literary idiom remained an important element.[34] Nor was this crossover confined to works of fiction: as will be discussed below, the Qing law code (*Da Qing huidian*), contained vernacular elements that proved problematic in Japan for the Tokugawa officials charged by the shogun, Yoshimune, with translating them.

Thus, despite a tendency in modern secondary literature on Sinitic texts in Japan towards a simple dichotomy between classical ('*kanbun*') and vernacular ('*hakuwa*') texts, the distinction is not so neat. However, although any given work may involve a mixture of literary and vernacular Sinitic, it is possible to distinguish between these two broad categories of written expression. Vernacular elements were present from the very beginning in the Chinese Buddhist texts that came to Japan, but the amount of vernacular Sinitic in Chinese texts encountered by Japanese readers increased with the years, as the written vernacular came to be more common in Chinese literature. As we will see, in the Tokugawa period, this increased dramatically with corresponding difficulties for classically trained Japanese readers, who usually had little experience of the spoken language from whence the vernacular Sinitic elements were derived nor had they been trained to read them as Japanese.

## Interconnectedness of Chinese and Japanese materials in history

As the brief survey at the start of this chapter suggests, Chinese texts have been hugely significant for literate classes and literacy itself in the Japanese archipelago throughout recorded history. This has implications for translation. Such was the importance of Chinese texts that the Japanese language, writing system, and literature are intimately connected with written, and to a lesser extent, spoken forms of Chinese. The Japanese language includes a large number of Chinese loanwords and certain forms of written Japanese owe their grammar and syntax to literary Sinitic.[35] In addition to these linguistic links, there is a textual closeness between Japanese literature and Sinitic writings, and Chinese literature was an

[33] Norman 1988, p. 108. [34] See McLaren 2005, p. 13.
[35] Frellesvig 2012, pp. 146–50, 258–94.

important source of inspiration and borrowing. In particular, the contents of Chinese stories have been mined as material for Japanese tales.[36] As will be discussed below, this practice increased in the Tokugawa period and widened to include the newly available vernacular narratives of Ming and Qing fiction.

A similar closeness existed in poetry as well, although poetry it is not the main focus of this monograph. A noteworthy example is the practice of *kudai waka* 句題和歌 (Japanese poems on Chinese poetic phrases), in which a phrase, or *ku* 句, from a Chinese poem was used as the topic (*dai* 題) for a new Japanese poem. Many of the resulting poems are what modern eyes might recognize as translations of the Chinese phrase, as in works like *The Collected Works of Ōe no Chisato* (*Ōe no Chisato shū*, 894); others, such as Fujiwara no Teika (1162–1241) and Jien's (1155–1225) poetic renderings of one hundred phrases from Bai Juyi's poetry are more free.[37] Though they sometimes took a form that could be described as translation, *kudai-waka* do not appear to have been thought of as such but rather were conceptualized as a kind of allusive variation, of Tang and Yamato poets in dialogue. Jien's concluding poem to his one hundred Japanese variants of Bai Juyi's poems reads:

から国やことのは風の吹くればよせてぞ返す和歌のうら波

*Karakuni ya/ kotonoha kaze no/ fukureba/ yosete zo kaesu/ waka no uranami*

A wind of words blows across from Cathay/ In response, I send back waves of waka.[38]

In reality, 'Cathay' rarely wrote back and when it did this was usually in response to a Chinese poem from Japan rather than a Japanese waka.[39]

However, this closeness, and the fact that Japanese elites were literate in and used both Chinese and Japanese writing systems, means that it is arguable that Chinese is not 'foreign' to Japanese in the same way as the European languages discussed elsewhere in this book.[40] In the

36 e.g., Kojima 1962–65. The studies on this topic are too numerous to list exhaustively. For an overview, see Sakaki 2006, p. 191, n. 8.

37 A similar work is *Collection of Japanese and Chinese Poems for Singing* (*Wakan rōeishū*, *c.*1013). Though in this case the Japanese and Chinese poems were later grouped together by common themes, rather than the waka being composed in relation to the Chinese verse.

38 Monjū Hyakushu Kenkyūkai 2007, p. 471. Unless otherwise noted all English translations are my own.

39 The exchange of Chinese poems was an important part of international missions and diplomacy in East Asia (Murai 2009). On the circulation of Chinese poetry among East Asian intellectuals, see the essays contained in Wan and Kuboki 2001, pp. 142–241. There was little knowledge of vernacular Japanese (as opposed to Japanese Sinitic) literature in China prior to the nineteenth century. For a rare exception, see Fogel 2010.

40 Ishizaki 1940, pp. 3–5. There is much secondary literature devoted to this Sino-Japanese dichotomy. For an overview, see Sakaki 2006, pp. 1–4.

pre-modern period Japanese elites saw themselves as part of a wider cultural sphere of courts for whom the written lingua franca was literary Sinitic. There was a sense that China and Japan shared a common linguistic and literary sensibility, the effects of which persisted even when a more recognizably modern idea of a Japanese national identity was beginning to stir in the Tokugawa period. Even Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728), who emphasized that Chinese and Japanese were different languages, wrote:

> Since the languages of foreigners from such countries as Holland are fundamentally different from that to which we are accustomed, naturally the foreigners speak in incomprehensible words as distant from human sentiments as are the squawking of birds and the yelping of beasts. China (中華) and this country, however, share the same linguistic sensibility.[41]

For Sorai, the Chinese classics were potentially comprehensible and translation possible because of the close linguistic ties between Japan and China.

### An unusual translation strategy – *Kundoku* 'reading by gloss'

The importance of Chinese language and literature in Japan has certainly resulted in some unusual 'translation' practices, many of which came to the fore in the Tokugawa period as increasing numbers of people beyond the traditional monastic lines of transmission came into contact with difficult Chinese texts. One of the strangest strategies to be born of the peculiarities of Japanese textual contact with Sinitic is *kundoku*, which has its roots in the centuries prior to the Tokugawa period.[42] *Kundoku* 訓読 (lit. 'reading by gloss') is the name now given to a variety of methods that were used to read a text written in Chinese characters as though the language enscripted on the page were Japanese. Such methods were in use in Japan from the Suiko era (592–628) or perhaps even earlier, and a version of *kundoku* is still the method taught for approaching Sinitic texts in Japanese schools today.[43] The origins of *kundoku* in the Japanese archipelago

[41] Pastreich 2001, p. 150; Sorai 1977b, p. 17.

[42] There are numerous scholarly introductions to *kundoku*: Lurie 2011, pp. 169–212, Semizu 2006 and Wakabayashi 2005a, pp. 121–4 are particularly helpful. The strangeness of *kundoku* means it has been the subject of much discussion and the question of whether it is even translation at all hotly debated. For an overview of debates in English and Japanese scholarship on this question, see Wakabayashi 2005a, pp. 126–35.

[43] For an overview of the history of *kundoku* practices in Japan, see Suzuki 1975 and Saitō 2008. For collected references to scholarship on the long history of *kundoku*, see Lurie 2011, p. 389, 4.3, and on Tokugawa–Meiji developments, Saitō 2008, p. 170.

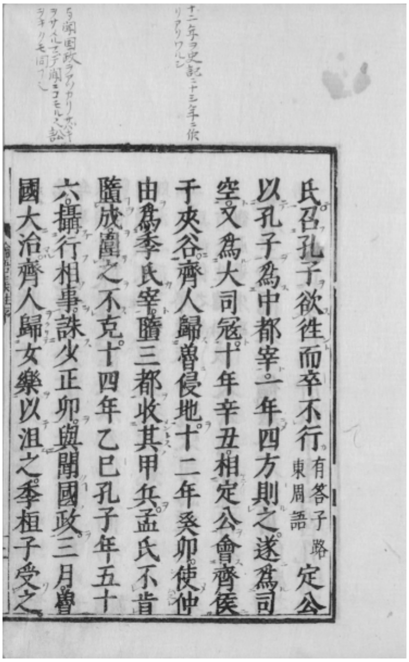
氏召孔子欲往而卒不行有答子路東周語定公
以孔子爲中都宰一年四方則之遂爲司
空又爲大司寇十年辛丑相定公會齊侯
于夾谷齊人歸魯侵地十二年癸卯使仲
由爲季氏宰墮三都收其甲兵孟氏不肯
墮成圍之不克十四年乙巳孔子年五十
六攝行相事誅少正卯與聞國政三月魯
國大治齊人歸女樂以沮之季桓子受之

Figure 4 Chinese text of Zhu Xi's commentary on the Four Books, with handwritten Japanese *kundoku* annotations, *c.*1766, National Diet Library

probably lie with educated migrants from the Korean peninsula, and indeed practices similar to *kundoku* are found throughout the regions that encountered Chinese texts, including Korea and Vietnam.[44]

In effect a form of highly bound translation, *kundoku* involves glossing a Sinitic character text with guides to producing a Japanese version that was not usually written down but rather voiced, either mentally or aloud. *Kundoku* may also be performed without the aid of glosses if the reader knows the rules for which the glosses would usually function as guides. These glossed guides used in *kundoku*, and the earlier systems of annotation from which *kundoku* developed, indicate to a reader how the order of characters contained in a Sinitic text may be rearranged according to the broad norms of Japanese grammar and syntax, which, unlike Chinese, usually places the verb after the object. In addition to this rearrangement, *kundoku* works by associating Sinitic characters with Japanese words, either native Japanese words or loanwords from Chinese that have become

[44] On *kundoku* and related practices in East Asia, see Yoshida 2001, pp. 2–4. On the possible Korean origins of such practices in Japan, see Lurie 2011, pp. 195–204.

part of the Japanese lexicon. These associations between characters and words, established over long years of use, enable Sinitic characters to be read as Japanese, or Japanese to be written using Sinitic characters.

The association between the Japanese language and Sinitic characters is possible because Sinitic characters are logographs – that is to say, they are used to represent words rather than sounds and are not tied to a particular language in the usual manner of words written using an alphabet.[45] Thus in theory Sinitic characters may be associated with words in any language. This seemingly complicated situation is not unlike Arabic numerals. In English the character '1' is associated with the word 'one', in French with '*un*', in German with '*ein*', in Japanese with '*ichi*' and so on. Likewise, but on a much larger scale, Sinitic characters or combinations of characters in the case of compounds, came after many years of habitual use to be associated with words in the languages of the people who used them. The character 兎, for example, is now associated with the modern Mandarin word '*tu*', with the Japanese word '*usagi*', and could in theory be associated with the English word 'rabbit'.[46]

Take for example, the opening passages of *The Analects*:

子曰。学而時習之。不亦説乎。

(The Master said 'Is it not pleasant to learn with constant perseverance and application?')

Though the original sounds which these characters represented are uncertain today, associating these characters with the words of modern Mandarin produces the following reading (in Pinyin romanization):

*Zi yue: Xue er shi xi zhi bu yi yue hu*

The character 子 is associated with the word *zi* ('Master'), 曰 with *yue* ('to say') and so on. In order to produce a Japanese *kundoku* version the characters must likewise be associated with Japanese words. However, because the syntactical order of Chinese and Japanese are different, it is also necessary for a Japanese reader to affix glosses in the form of numbers and reversal signs

[45] Unger 2004. It should be noted that the logographic use of words written in an alphabet is possible and may be observed for example in Aakadian cuneiform, which uses certain Sumarian words logographically. For a comparison of the Japanese and Aakadian cases, see Ikeda 2008.

[46] Although in theory a *kundoku*-like method could be developed for reading classical Chinese as English, *kundoku* and related practices are only found where there are reading traditions that have developed to associate Chinese characters with local words and syntax. This has not been the case with English so anglophones usually learn to read classical Chinese via one of the associative reading traditions already in existence, usually modern Chinese or Japanese. In other words, they interpret a Chinese character first through the medium of either Chinese (or Japanese, if they have learned *kundoku*) and then into English.

indicating the order in which each character should be read. Phonographic Japanese square-form kana characters indicating verb inflexions, particles and any unusual readings of the Chinese characters are also added as guides. The result looks like this (though it is usually written vertically):

子曰ク、學ビテ而時ニ習フレ之ヲ、不ニ亦説（ヨロコバシカラ）一乎。

*Shi iwaku, manabite toki ni narau kore o, zu ya mata yorokobashikara.*

Reading continuously from left to right (or top to bottom as the case would be) without rearranging the syntax would produce an utterance nonsensical to a Japanese audience because the word order remains Chinese. Instead, readers must pick their way back and forth guided by the numbers and reversal signs. Written down, the corrected order as it would be read aloud looks like this:

子曰ク、学ビテ時ニ之ヲ習フ。亦説バシカラズヤ。

*Shi iwaku, manabite toki ni kore o narau, mata yorokobashikarazu ya*

The resulting rearrangement has swapped the verb *narau* ('to learn') with *kore o* (object 'this', plus object-marking particle) to conform to the rules of the Japanese language, which usually places the verb after the object. The suffixes '*zu*' (negative) and '*ya*' (rhetorical), which are the Japanese approximation of the Chinese 不 . . . 乎 construction, have been brought to the end of the adjectival stem '*yorokobashikara*'('pleasant') where they would usually be found in Japanese.

*Kundoku* annotations, of which the above is but one example, took various forms in history, with different sorts of glossed guides that developed over time. As well as guides to syntactical rearrangement and grammar, they might also include translative Japanese glosses for Sinitic characters, such as was the case with the collection of Buddhist stories *Miraculous Tales from Japan* (*Nihon ryōiki*), which was compiled *c.*822. In the Tokugawa period numerous Ming and Qing editions of Chinese works were reprinted in Japanese editions (*wakokubon* 和刻本). These involved Japanizing the Chinese text to some extent, usually by including *kundoku* reading markers, and in many cases marginal notes as well as extracts from Chinese or Japanese commentaries.[47] Some Japanese printed editions (and manuscripts) also used a technique known as *kun'yaku* 訓訳 (interpretive translation, or *kundoku* translation). *Kun'yaku* involved adding an extra layer of translative glosses in addition to the usual annotations of *kundoku*. These additional glosses

[47] On Japanese reprints of foreign books during the Tokugawa period, see Kornicki 2001, pp. 153–8.

gave the Japanese translation of a difficult phrase or word to the left of the main line of (vertical) text (and were known as *sakun* 左訓 or *sabōkun* 左傍訓, 'glosses to the left'). This strategy had been used prior to the Tokugawa period, for works such as *The Fairy Cave* (*Youxian ku*, Jp. *Yūsenkutsu*, 660–740), and was not limited to vernacular elements.[48] In the Tokugawa period, though, it was used for the vernacular elements in works such as Oka Hakku (1692–1767) and Sawada Issai's (1701–82) edition of the collected short stories of the late Ming author Feng Menglong (1574–1645).[49] Texts annotated in this fashion were known as 'national translations', *kokuyaku* 国訳, 'glossed translations' (*kun'yaku*), or sometimes just 'translations' (*yaku*).[50]

## *Language of* kundoku

Though some *kundoku* locutions and vocabulary preserve earlier forms of Japanese that have fallen out of use, the resulting language is largely translationese in which the norms of Chinese as it is written using Sinitic have come to affect the conventions of a linguistic register that may be termed '*kundoku* Japanese'.[51] For instance, the Japanese placement of *iwaku* ('to say') before the utterance in the above example from *The Analects* is opposite to the normal Japanese practice of following the utterance with a verb for speech; however, the conjunction 'so-and-so says' appears so often in Chinese texts that the sinified formula has become the norm in *kundoku*. It should also be noted that the 'Japanese' words with which the Sinitic characters are associated involve both loanwords from Chinese that have entered the Japanese vocabulary (known as *on* 音 or 'sound' readings of characters) and Japanese words that do not have their origin in the Chinese language (*kun* 訓 'gloss' or 'interpretative' readings of characters). The first character in the example above, 子, is read in Japanese as *shi* – a 'sound' reading approximating to the Chinese pronunciation of the character, which over time became the Japanese loanword from Chinese meaning 'master' (in this case, Confucius). The character 曰, on the other hand, is read with the Japanese gloss reading, *iwaku* – a Japanese verb meaning 'to speak'. Likewise, the other Sinitic characters in this particular sentence also happen to be read using Japanese words rather than loanwords that approximate to the sounds of Chinese. The Japanese reading produced

48 Nakamura 1968, p. 274. 49 Ishizaki 1940, pp. 184, 215–23.
50 Takashima 2006, p. 47.
51 On the historical development of the language used in *kundoku*, see Lurie 2011, pp. 391–2, n. 4.7.

by following *kundoku* guides, therefore, involves a mixture of Japanese and Chinese elements. Noting that the contemporary translation studies discipline has shown interest in the possibility of a hybrid language that can productively intervene in the traditional source–target-language dichotomy, Judy Wakabayashi has proposed the term 'interlanguage' to describe this phenomenon in the case of *kundoku*.[52]

Although the language of a *kundoku* transcription is not any form of Japanese that exists entirely independently of *kundoku*, the unusual usages found in *kundoku* did influence certain forms of the Japanese written language.[53] Within the Chinese–Japanese language spectrum, modern scholars have tended to distinguish – somewhat anachronistically – between 'classical Japanese prose' (*wabun* 和文 or *wabuntai* 和文体) of the kind used in Heian *monogatari* on the one hand, and Japanese registers written with a higher degree of Chinese elements on the other, including Sinitic characters, Chinese loanwords, and grammar structures originating in the encounter with literary Sinitic. These latter, sinified forms of Japanese are often grouped under the rubric of 'Sino-Japanese mixed prose' (*wakan konkōbun* 和漢混交文), which is found in so-called 'military romances' (*gunki monogatari*) that were written in a style imitating the sound of *kundoku* translationese, and may also include a formal Japanese language used in scholarship as a local alternative to Sinitic.[54] Originating in the textual encounter with the Chinese classics, the sound of *kundoku* translationese was authoritative and associated with literary Sinitic, the supra-regional writing system used for scholarship. The attempt to blend the grammar and vocabulary of *kundoku* with local, vernacular usages in Sino-Japanese mixed prose mirrors fifteenth-century attempts to bring English and Latin closer together. In both there is a similar desire to 'blend vernacular intimacy with Latinate [or Chinese] authority and sophistication, to heal the separation between spoken and textual, local and universal'.[55]

[52] Wakabayashi 2005b.

[53] Kobayashi 1972. Recent work on this subject has been spearheaded by Saitō Mareshi and Saitō Fumitoshi. See for example, Saitō 2007, 2011. In English, see Atsuko Ueda's work on the importance of language derived from *kundoku* in the formation of a national Japanese language in the nineteenth century (2008).

[54] For an introduction to Sino-Japanese mixed prose, see Yamada 1972.

[55] Watson 2012, p. 140. However, rigid distinctions between these different registers are difficult to maintain. The Japanese written language has been influenced by Chinese from earliest times to such an extent that, in reality, classical Japanese '*wabun*' means little more than a style of Japanese that is not a *kundoku* transcription, and has a low degree (unspecified) of Chinese words and syntactical influences. The end of the spectrum nowadays often called 'Sino-Japanese mixed prose' (i.e., *wakan konkōbun*) is the closest, stand-alone Japanese register to the language produced by a *kundoku* rendering and varieties of it were

So much for the target language of the translation – what about the source language? As David Lurie has recently argued, there may be both more and less than two languages present in a Sinitic text.[56] More than two languages because, in addition to Chinese, a text written using the Sinitic logographic system has the potential to be read as any one of the number of East Asian languages that developed *kundoku*-like methods for associating Chinese logographic characters with local words and usages.[57] On the other hand, there may be less than two languages at work because a text with a surface of literary Sinitic may have been written in Japan for instance, by a non-speaker of Chinese who composed it using *kundoku* associations between words and characters, intending the work to be read by a Japanese audience who would reverse the process using *kundoku*.

Naturally, in most cases it is now impossible to tell which language was in the mind of the author when the text was written. With the exception of certain scholar monks, there were declining levels of fluency in spoken Chinese in the Japanese archipelago over time.[58] With the exception of ritual Buddhist texts, which were intoned using Chinese *on* readings, *kundoku* was the main means for reading Sinitic texts and so it is likely that the language enscripted 'behind' the Sinitic on the page of works written in Japan is in fact *kundoku* Japanese. However, during the Tokugawa period some scholars outside the temple complexes attempted to learn spoken and written vernacular Chinese and there was a vogue for reading literary Sinitic texts by following the original word order and using vernacular Chinese pronunciation. Many who followed this method criticized the limitations and obfuscations of *kundoku*. In an attempt to compose what they hoped was correct literary Sinitic free from the 'stench of Japanese' (*washū* 和臭) grammar and vocabulary that had come to affect the way works were written using the literary Sinitic system, they strove to use vernacular Chinese terms and to ensure their grammar was as Chinese as possible. In these cases it is more difficult to make the argument that

used by Tokugawa scholars as a more accessible but still authoritative-sounding alternative to literary Sinitic. The Sino-Japanese dichotomy also falls along calligraphic lines: so-called 'classical Japanese prose' is traditionally written mainly in cursive, phonographic kana graphs (later known as hiragana) with some Chinese characters used logographically, while more sinified forms of language involve a higher percentage of Chinese logographs combined with the square-form phonographic kana syllabary (later known as katakana) (LaMarre 2000).

56 Lurie 2011, pp. 207–11.

57 For an overview of *kundoku* and related practices in East Asia, see Yoshida 2001.

58 The earliest written examples of vernacular Chinese appear in Buddhist texts and these have always had a higher instance of vernacular language than non-Buddhist works (Mair 1994).

texts with a 'Chinese' surface of literary Sinitic are written in Japanese (the scholars concerned would certainly be offended at the accusation).[59]

### *Is* Kundoku *translation?*

The difficulties of pinning down what source language is involved in a literary Sinitic text, causes conceptual problems for the historian of translation. Does *kundoku* amount to translation between Chinese and Japanese? If the source language is not Chinese, is it even translation at all? The Sinitic script brings with it complications that are not immediately apparent to a translation studies specialist trained in European writing traditions.

Putting aside those cases where Japanese authors strove to write Chinese as Chinese, one might argue that for most of the 'Chinese' materials written by Japanese scholars in history, the language enscripted on the page by means of Sinitic logographs was probably some form of *kundoku* Japanese. And hence, voicing the text aloud or mentally as *kundoku* does not amount to translation, but instead is simply reading. Indeed, if it was common sense that texts were written and read in the language of *kundoku* and few Japanese scholars had contact with Chinese as a spoken language, then this probably explains why *kundoku*, as the name 'reading by gloss' suggests, was conceived of as a reading method for so much of Japanese history, until the eighteenth century when Ogyū Sorai argued it was in fact translation. Describing the act of producing a Japanese language rendering of a Chinese text as 'reading' is only puzzling to the modern scholar who, unused to divorces between script and language, assumes all *kundoku* texts are 'written in Chinese'.

However, unglossed Sinitic texts offer no clues as to how they should be read. Strictly speaking it would only be correct to say that a *kundoku* reading of a Sinitic text composed in Japan is not translation if the enscripted (i.e., source text) and voiced (i.e., target text) *kundoku* versions were identical. And that cannot be ensured unless the writer of the source text affixed the *kundoku* markers themselves and also added further glosses to indicate the exact pronunciation of the characters. Although many of the reading guides produced in the Tokugawa period did exactly this, the texts that scholars used were often unglossed. The lexical classes of words written in Sinitic are not always immediately apparent and an unglossed text is open to a variety of *kundoku* interpretations depending on what is understood to be a verb or a noun by the reader affixing the glosses, as well as where the sentences are perceived to begin and end.

[59] Of course, if texts intended as enscripted Chinese were read using *kundoku* by people who lacked the skills to read them as Chinese then *kundoku* arguably amounts to translation between Chinese and Japanese. The same is true of works written in China by Chinese speakers when they are read using *kundoku* in Japan.

Even if their basic understanding of the grammatical contours of the source text was the same, the writer and the glosser of a given text might belong to different schools of *kundoku* who use alternative Japanese locutions and vocabulary for the same Chinese characters. In such cases, where the *kundoku* version encoded as Sinitic by a non-Chinese speaking Japanese author and the version produced by the reader/glosser are different, what takes place is intralingual translation – 'an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs of the same language' (i.e., *kundoku* Japanese to *kundoku* Japanese).[60]

In any case, regardless of the language being enscripted, which often cannot be known, in every *kundoku* rendering or text written in Sinitic using *kundoku* there is inevitably translation of a different kind occurring: that between the literary Sinitic writing system and *kundoku* Japanese. I know of no category in modern translation theory which precisely covers this situation as most modern translation theory is predicated on the assumption that script and language are identical.[61] It would be well to consider this type of situation in more detail as there are many examples in world history of texts where a script belonging to one language is used to write texts in another.[62]

Thus it can be said that *kundoku* often involves several different kinds of translation: translation between Sinitic on the surface and the language of *kundoku* Japanese it may encrypt, between one (now lost) *kundoku* Japanese text encrypted within the page and another slightly different *kundoku* rendering produced by a reader, or between a form of Chinese encrypted within the page and *kundoku* Japanese. In reality, though, the original voiced text that is written using the literary Sinitic writing system disappears into the void with the act of writing. The only kind of translation we can be certain is occurring is that between the literary Sinitic writing system and the language of the *kundoku* method that is used to give voice to that system.

It should also be noted that the glosses used as a guide to producing a *kundoku* version may also be thought of as commentary on the text's meaning, indicating whether particular characters function as nouns or verbs in the context, where clauses begin and end, and so on. In this way, *kundoku*

[60] Jakobson 2000, p. 139.

[61] An exception is the discussion of the contribution made by the visible or pictorial aspects of script to a text (e.g., Brotherston 2009). The category of intersemiotic translation – 'an interpretation of verbal signs by means of signs of nonverbal sign systems' (Jakobson 2000, p. 139) – comes close to capturing what occurs in the mediation between the signs of Sinitic and *kundoku* Japanese. However, Chinese characters are generally understood as verbal signs – intersemiotic translation usually refers to transfer between words (written or unwritten verbal signs) and pictures.

[62] Part of a phenomenon that has been called 'alloglottography', a term coined by Gershevitch 1979. For a recent study and a variety of examples, see Rubio 2005.

glosses are similar to annotative systems for adding vowels to Hebrew texts, such as the Masoretic system. It would certainly be misleading to consider *kundoku* in isolation from commentarial traditions. However, when glosses are used to perform a *kundoku* rendering, the result is undoubtedly a kind of translation – one bound to the surface language of the source text to an extremely high degree, but a translation nonetheless.

## *Why* kundoku?

There is no simple answer to the question of why such a convoluted method was used to approach texts written using the literary Sinitic writing system – why not simply translate into a more manageable form of literary or spoken Japanese? One answer lies in the circumstances of the initial encounter with Chinese texts. This occurred at a time when Japan had no writing system of its own or written form of language into which a translation could be made, and thus *kundoku*-like practices were present from the earliest instances of reading and writing.[63] However, this does not explain why *kundoku* continued to be used once a phonographic kana orthography had developed and together with Chinese characters was used to write Japanese.

At least two major factors were at play in this continuation: the authority with which the Chinese textual tradition was imbued, and the particular learning and reading habits which were practised in pre- and early modern Japan. *Kundoku* is an extreme example of the kind of subject-oriented translation strategy that scholars of European translation history have observed in connection with sacred texts.[64] One solution to the problem of translating such works is to produce translations that, like a *kundoku* rendering, are bound to the original in such a way as to warp the contours of the target language. For those classical or post-classical literary Sinitic texts which were regarded as sacred or authoritative, *kundoku* enabled scholars to approach them in a manner that preserved them in their entirety. Or at least, *kundoku* gave the appearance of preserving the source text on the page. In reality the voiced language of a *kundoku* rendering would have been impenetrable to any Chinese speaker as well as to listeners from other East Asian regions who used the literary Sinitic writing system.

Thus *kundoku* grew to prominence in part because of the way it allowed the preservation of and respect for authoritative source texts. However, it was also useful as a teaching strategy. Memorization and recitation were

[63] Lurie 2011, pp. 184–94. [64] Robinson 2000, p. 106.

vital tools for learning before the widespread use of commercial printing made books more affordable in the Tokugawa period. The recitation of a *kundoku* interpretation under the guidance of a teacher served as a mnemonic device for imprinting large amounts of text on the mind, a process that was regarded as the first step towards understanding the classics.[65] Together with a teacher's instruction, *kundoku* glosses served as signposts that helped beginners cope with texts that would otherwise have been too difficult to read, even for rote memorization purposes. *Kundoku* was additionally useful for beginners because, as a highly bound translation method, it functioned as a means of grasping the grammar of the source and clearly communicated the annotator's grammatical interpretation.[66] This grammatical function of *kundoku* is probably an important reason why, as discussed below, *kundoku*-like practices were found in Japan as a beginner's strategy for approaching all kinds of texts written in literary Sinitic, not only canonical works where preservation of the source was paramount. And practices very much like *kundoku* were used in the initial stages of decoding European language works during the Tokugawa period.[67]

This mnemonic and grammatical function of *kundoku* was practised in tandem with explanatory lectures that communicated the meaning and content of the texts which were being rote-learned. In other words, the introductory and mediatory role which might have been filled by a parallel translation into an independent, vernacular language – as was eventually the case with Bible translation in Europe – in Japan was split between loose translation in the form of explication, and highly bound translation in the form of *kundoku*. The highly bound *kundoku* approach was made possible in the East Asian case by the fact that the literary Sinitic writing system employs logographs and thus more easily allowed the association of a classical writing system with words in various local languages in ways the Latin alphabet never did in Europe.

## Translation and canonical Chinese works

For most of Japanese history until the twentieth century, *kundoku* was almost exclusively the only mode of close Japanese translation used for Chinese works that had canonical status. These canonical texts included Buddhist sutras, the Five Classics (*Wu jing* 五經), and 'Masters Literature' (*zishu* 子書), the corpus from the pre-Qin period (before 221 BC) attributed to master figures such as Confucius, Mencius, and Zhuangzi'.[68] Such works were subject to translation more broadly defined in the form

[65] Takeda 1969, pp. 46–9. [66] Kawashima 2010, p. 334. [67] Morioka 1999.
[68] On 'Masters Literature' the seminal study is Denecke 2010.

of explanation and commentary, but *kundoku* was the main vehicle of closer transposition. As a highly bound translation strategy that enabled the preservation of the formal elements of the source text, *kundoku* annotation and transcription, together with commentarial-style explication, was also a common translation method used for Chinese poetry, such as the Ming period compilation of Tang poems, *Selections from Tang Poetry* (*Tangshi xuan*), which was popular among scholars and literati in Edo and Kyoto during the Tokugawa period.[69]

### Kundoku *transcription*

The fact that the target-language text in *kundoku* was largely invisible or only hinted at by annotative markers has contributed to the controversy among modern scholars as to whether or not *kundoku* is a form of translation.[70] However, it is a little-appreciated fact that in some situations, *kundoku* renderings – even of canonical texts – were in fact written down. These transcriptions provide further support for the notion that *kundoku* is a form of translation and that it has functioned as such, at least in part, throughout Japanese history.[71] Moreover, emerging textual evidence suggests that the practice may have been more widespread than previously thought.[72] The practice of *kundoku* transcription has its roots in the early centuries of contact with Chinese texts, and continued into the Tokugawa period when transcribed *kundoku* renderings began circulating in print.

There were short sections of *kundoku* transcription contained even in texts written in apparently less-sinified forms of Japanese from very early on, such as the quotes from Chinese poetry used by the Heian period authors Murasaki Shikibu or Sei Shonagon in their work, and this type of translation continued well into the Tokugawa period.[73] Less well known are lengthy parallel translations into kana (with occasional Sinitic characters) of a number of canonical texts originally composed in literary Sinitic, particularly those associated with Pure Land Buddhism. Most of these

[69] On the reception of *Selections from Tang Poetry* in Tokugawa Japan, see Hino 1982, pp. 9–19 and Nakamura 1988. For bibliographic details of Japanese editions, commentaries and reworkings, see Yamagishi 1986, pp. 5–13.

[70] Semizu 2006. For an overview of the debates on this topic in English and Japanese scholarship, see Wakabayashi 2005a, pp. 126–35.

[71] In the early Meiji period, before the unification of spoken and written language, *kundoku* transcription was sometimes described as 'translation' (*yakusu* 訳ス) although it was also subsumed under the rubric of 'interpretation' (*kai* 解) (Saitō 2007, pp. 91–2).

[72] e.g., Kaneko 1992, p. 9.

[73] Nakamura 1968, p. 286. The use of quotes, allusions, and rhetorical devices from Chinese literature during this period is a large field of study in itself. See for example, Kojima 1962–5 and more recently, Honma 2002.

translations took the form of close transcriptions of the *kundoku* reading, though others were looser renderings into a more natural form of written Japanese, and the line between them can be blurred.[74]

The most numerous examples of this kind of transcription that have thus far come to light prior to the Tokugawa period relate to Pure Land Buddhism. Where previously the clergy had directed their efforts at the upper classes, from the Kamakura period efforts were made to reach the common people. The Jōdoshū 浄土宗 (Pure Land Sect) and the Jōdoshinshū 浄土真宗 (True Pure Land Sect) sought ways of making Buddhist teaching more practical and immediate; they often wrote in Japanese rather than Sinitic because it could reach a wider audience, and the *kundoku* transcriptions are doubtless associated with this.[75] There are five extant manuscript copies of early *kundoku* transcriptions of *The Essentials of Deliverance* (*Ōjōyōshū*, 985), the compendium of important passages extracted from the Pure Land Chinese Buddhist canon and compiled by the monk Genshin (942–1017).[76] All but one – a Muromachi manuscript – date from the Kamakura period. There were also written *kundoku* transcriptions of a number of sutras associated with Pure Land Buddhism, which had been transmitted to Japan in literary Sinitic translation. The most numerous Japanese translations are of a Chinese translation of the *Lotus Sutra* (Ch. *Miaofa lianhua jing*, Jp. *Myōhō renge kyō*); at least six are extant today in addition to numerous manuscript fragments, some of which contain a mixture of bound, *kundoku*-style translation and freer forms.[77] Nor were such texts limited to Buddhist works: in addition, there are known to be *kundoku* extracts from the *Chronicles of Japan*, as well as the *Analects*.[78] However, for the most part, it was Pure Land Buddhist texts that were reproduced in phonographic Japanese script in a language approaching the vernacular. It was not until the Tokugawa period that *kundoku* transcriptions of works other than Buddhist ones became commonplace.

74 Nozawa 2010.

75 On vernacular Buddhist literature, see Shirane 2007, pp. 639–704.

76 Bibliographical data from Nishida 2001, pp. 49–52.

77 Nozawa 2010, 2006. The best known of the kana Lotus Sutras is the Myō Ichi Kinenkan manuscript, a facsimile of which is available in Tanaka 1988. There were also renderings of the Amida Sutra (Ch. *Amituo jing*, Jp. *Amida kyō*) and the *Sutra of Unlimited Longevity* (*Amitāyurdhyāna sutra*; Ch. *Guanwuliangshou jing*, Jp. *Kanmuryōju kyō*) (Kawase 1943, pp. 130–6).

78 The rendering of *The Analects* probably dates from the Muromachi period but the original manuscript has been lost. On this text, see Yanagihara 2009, 2010, which also contain a transcription. The oldest surviving example of the *Chronicles of Japan* renders dates from the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century and was reprinted in 1719. An analysis of this text is found in Kawase 1943, pp. 850–4.

Prior to the Tokugawa period, the study of Chinese texts was mainly the prerogative of the temple complexes and the only *kundoku* transcriptions and looser renderings to have come to light thus far are concerned with proselytizing Pure Land Buddhism. Those people who studied the Chinese language or literary Sinitic did so via systems of patronage, under the instruction of a teacher who could explain to them the meaning of the text, and therefore did not have as great an instructional need of freer translation or transcriptions of the *kundoku* annotated version. Short translations, though, were included in some texts used for studying and teaching the Sinitic classics: commentaries on classical and post-classical literary Sinitic texts involved elements of translation in the form of short *kundoku* transcriptions, as well as paraphrases or the close rendering of content in various registers of Japanese, including colloquial speech. In particular, the rather loose category of texts known as *shōmono* (or *shōmotsu*) 抄物, commonly denoting a type of commentary in the form of a written record of the verbal explication of a text by a scholar, often include a section where the subject text is expounded or translated by the teacher.[79] A *kundoku* rendering is bound to the source text to such an extent that inexperienced readers would find the resulting language of translation difficult to understand, especially in large doses, hence the need for a teacher's explanation in vernacular Japanese as evidenced by *shōmono*.

The advent of a commercial publishing industry in the Tokugawa period meant that increasing numbers of readers from the merchant and poorer samurai classes gained access to the classics in the form of printed *kundoku* annotation, and, increasingly, printed *kundoku* transcriptions. These readers usually did not have access to a private tutor or to older institutions of scholarship and patronage, though they might study at a domain academy or *terakoya* (privately run elementary school).[80] Entrepreneurs in the commercial publishing industry offered these readers a way into the contents of Sinitic classics by means of textbooks for private study. As *kundoku*-based recitation was an important gateway to the Chinese classics, these textbooks provided transcriptions of the *kundoku* readings.

The most successful series of textbooks of this kind was the *Plenty of Teachers of the Classics* (*Keiten* (or *Keiden*) *yoshi*) series by the sinologist Tani Hyakunen (1754–1831). Hyakunen's work was hugely successful,

[79] A more thorough consideration of the role of translation in *shōmono* is available in Boot 2003.

[80] Particularly helpful studies of schools in early modern Japan are Dore's seminal study on education (1965) and Kasai 1960 on domain schools.

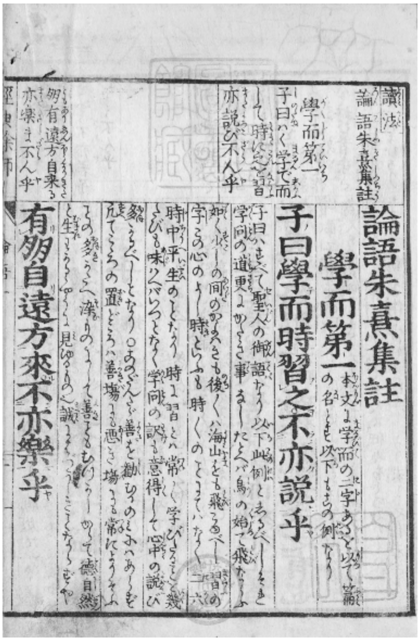
論語朱熹集註
學而第一
子曰學而時習之不亦說乎
有朋自遠方來不亦樂乎

Figure 5 Opening passage of *The Analects*. From Tani Hyakunen, *Plenty of Teachers of the Classics*, 1853 edition.

and was printed in serial form between 1787 and 1843 by publishers both in Edo, in Osaka, and in provincial centres.[81] It covered major works from the Sinitic canon including the Four Books (*Sishu* 四書), *The Classic of Filial Piety* (*Xiaojing*, *c.*400 BC), and *The Classic of Poetry* (*Shijing*) together with the orthodox Neo-Confucian commentaries on these texts by Zhu Xi (1130–1200), as well as non-canonical works. The success of *Plenty of Teachers* paved the way for the practice of studying the correct recitation of the classics on one's own in private.[82]

The layout of *Plenty of Teachers* gave sections of the source-text classic in large print with *kundoku* markers and punctuation, followed by a simple explanation in literary Japanese, written in a combination of Sinitic characters and cursive kana with cursive kana glosses on each Sinitic character. Above this was a transcription of the *kundoku* reading

[81] A facsimile copy is available in Tani 2009. Publication data from Tani 2009 (vol. I, p. ii). On the background and reception of the *Plenty of Teachers* series, see Suzuki 2007, pp. 145–244.

[82] Suzuki 2007, p. 12.

for that section written in Sinitic characters and cursive kana with cursive kana glosses on each Sinitic character, followed by short explanations of grammar. Figure 5, taken from the opening passage of *The Analects*, discussed above, shows the *kundoku* annotated section of text (largest print), followed by a section of commentary in smaller print, with the transcription of the *kundoku* reading of the main text given in a headnote.

The transcription of the *kundoku* reading of a text arguably had a dual function: just as *kundoku* works both as a form of bound translation and as a recitation method, so too the transcriptions in *Plenty of Teachers* enabled readers to practise a 'correct' recitation of the text as well as to begin to understand its contents. Though Hyakunen is recorded as having claimed that he wrote the work for his aged mother, in practice his readership was much wider and also included less-educated samurai for whom a veneer of sinological learning would have helped to reinforce their status or provided the possibility for administrative career advancement.[83] The *Keitenyoshi* series was also used in *terakoya* schools, and records for a certain school, the Tsukumoan in Kōzuke province, show that the teachers often borrowed it for their own use.[84] Research also suggests that mothers would borrow volumes of *Plenty of Teachers* from *terakoya* teachers to prepare their offspring for spelling and recitation competitions that took place between local schools. Suzuki argues that by enabling individuals to read privately for their own education and interest, *Plenty of Teachers* and the works it inspired laid the foundations for the shift towards private, and eventually silent modern reading practices in Japan.[85]

*Plenty of Teachers* gave rise to large numbers of textbooks of a similar type.[86] The aforementioned *Plenty of Teachers of the Classics: The Book of Filial Piety for Women* by author and translator Takai Ranzan (1762–1838) is one example which adopted a similar format, simplifying *The Book of Filial Piety for Women* in order that 'even young girls, so long as they know their abcs (*iroha*), may read (*yomikudashi*) this text and even understand its meaning without a teacher'.[87] The expression 'without a teacher' (*shishō irazu* 師匠いらず) became a selling point in these kinds of textbooks.

83 Suzuki 2005, pp. 679–81. See also Suzuki 2007, pp. 177–82.
84 Koizumi 2009, p. iv.
85 Suzuki 2007, pp. 12–15. On the shift from early modern to modern readership, see Maeda 1989, especially pp. 17–259.
86 Suzuki 2007, pp. 185–244. *Plenty of Teachers* was also the subject of parody (Suzuki 2005, p. 162).
87 Takai 1824, 1v.

### *Hayashi Razan and freer forms of translation*

The first and for a long time only major figure in Japan to adopt a different approach to the Sinitic classics was Hayashi Razan. In the first half of the seventeenth century Razan produced something in the region of forty loose vernacular Japanese translations and explications of Sinitic texts – including canonical works – in the hope of educating people as to their contents. He called this type of translational work *genkai* 諺解. In this he was probably inspired by Korean *onhae* 諺解 (shorthand for *onmun haesol* 諺文解說, meaning 'explained in *onmun*' – the Korean vernacular script).[88]

Razan did not distinguish between explication and closer forms of translation, and his *genkai* vernacular texts encompassed both methods. Below is his justification for using vernacular rewordings and explanations:

> If people do not know the meaning of the graphs, then they will find it difficult to read the writings of the sages; if they do not read their writings they will find it difficult to know what they have to say; if they do now know what they have to say how can they grasp the essence of the sages? Scholars in China were very good at explaining the classics. If only a few notes are provided then how can people know the meaning of the graphs? After reading *Xingli ziyi* [*The Meanings of Neo-Confucian Terms*] I responded to a certain person's request and produced a *genkai* employing ordinary speech, the vernacular and the Japanese script. This was because I wanted to make it easy for people to understand it when they read it.[89]

This preface was published posthumously but it seems to have been written by Razan himself. Most of his *genkai* were originally written in manuscript for the benefit of one particular person, but their move into print and prefaces like this one, seemingly sponsored by Razan himself, suggest that he had hopes of more widespread accessibility to the classics through the Japanese vernacular.[90] Among the canonical works Razan treated in this manner were the Confucian classics *The Analects*, the *Great Learning*, and the *Classic of Filial Piety*.

However, if Razan had hopes of more widespread education through the medium of vernacular translation these were never realized.[91] There were no government initiatives in the field of education or sponsorship of textbooks for public consumption such as was later seen in the Meiji period. The one important exception to this general state of affairs was the moral textbook published in Japanese under the title *General Outline of*

[88] Kornicki 2013a, pp. 195–6.
[89] Translation from Kornicki 2013a, p. 204, with modifications in square brackets.
[90] P. F. Kornicki, personal communication. [91] Kornicki 2013a, pp. 206–8.

*the Elucidation of the Six Instructions* (*Rikuyu engi taii*, 1722) in the early eighteenth century. This was based on the *Elucidation of the Six Instructions* (*Liuyu ya yi*, early Qing) – a work of moral instruction which amplified in vernacular Sinitic the 'six instructions' (*liuyu*) of the first Ming emperor. The *Liuyu yanyi* was selected for translation by the shogun, Tokugawa Yoshimune (1684–1751), because it emphasized the kind of good behaviour that made for model subjects. Yoshimune sponsored two translations of the *Elucidation*: a *kundoku* annotated version by Ogyū Sorai and a looser vernacular translation by Muro Kyūsō.[92] However, this was the only attempt to produce a government textbook and the source text was a non-canonical work involving vernacular elements.

### *Ogyū Sorai*

Nor was the possibility of wider public appreciation of the Chinese classics through vernacular translation one which was embraced by other scholars. As discussed in Chapter 1, from the late seventeenth century onwards other sinologists did advocate translation, but they did so in the context of their attacks on the transhistoricism and transculturalism that had characterized previous understandings of classical texts. Itō Jinsai, Ogyū Sorai, and their followers, saw translation as a tool of scholarly training, a means of overcoming the linguistic misunderstandings that had grown up over the years, not as a way to make Confucian teaching accessible to the hoi polloi. Ironically, Sorai claimed to have gained his Chinese reading skills by the careful study of one of Razan's vernacular Japanese explanations of *The Great Learning*.[93]

Strangely, Sorai, who is the Tokugawa scholar most famous today as an apparent promoter of translation, did not himself publish any translations in print, nor advocate that others do so. On the contrary, he openly opposed making Chinese texts more accessible to people who were not of the scholarly or governing classes, and for this reason was displeased that his *kundoku* annotated version of the *Elucidation* was published in print by the shogunate. Sorai felt it sufficient that the populace (*min* 民) be made aware of the virtues of their rulers, and nothing more. Anything else, he argued, would only increase the kind of knowledge that could be put to

92 On this translation, see Kornicki (forthcoming).

93 Sorai 1977b, p. 16. For the English translation, see Pastreich 2001, p. 144. It is uncertain exactly which of Razan's commentaries on the *Great Learning* this might be. Sorai describes the work as *Daigaku genkai* 大学諺解 ('vernacular explanation of the Great Learning'), and indeed Razan did produce a commentary with this title. However, it is possible Sorai may have meant *a* vernacular explanation of the *Great Learning*, referring to one of Razan's other commentaries on the text (Murakami 1981, pp. 139–42).

evil use; scholars ought to cultivate their own minds and their own goodness, and govern so as to rid the towns and villages of evil practices rather than trying to teach the populace directly about virtue.[94]

Sorai's primary concern was with scholars like himself, and the ways in which they read (or misread) the Chinese classics. Like Itō Jinsai, he recognized the temporal and linguistic gulf between present readers and the texts of the past. In the preface to the first volume of *A Tool for Translation* (*Yakubun sentei*, 1715–96) Sorai argued that Chinese texts were written in old Chinese, which was a foreign language, and ought, if possible, to be read as such.[95] He also railed against the established *kundoku* associations between Chinese characters and Japanese words, noting that these were archaic and obscured nuance. Since Chinese texts were written in Chinese, *kundoku*, he argued, was in fact a form of translation, not a reading method as everyone thought. And it was a bad form of translation at that.

In order to gain an accurate understanding of such texts, Sorai advocated a new, three-pronged approach.[96] This was centred on learning to speak Chinese, using more natural Japanese translations when interpreting or explaining Chinese, and studying the ancient phraseology of literary Sinitic texts. In the absence of native speakers of archaic Chinese, Sorai substituted the study of spoken contemporary vernacular Chinese as the best means of coming to terms with the classical texts. He founded the Translation Society (Yakusha 訳社) and employed Okajima Kanzan, a translator from Nagasaki, to teach spoken and written vernacular Chinese.[97] To this end, Sorai and Kanzan also produced vernacular Chinese translations of Japanese stories.[98] As the second prong of his approach, Sorai taught alternative ways of translating the vocabulary and

94 Nakamura 1972, p. 232. Sorai's pupil, Hattori Nankaku (1683–1759), also records that Sorai jealously guarded his vernacular commentary on the Ming code and would only allow eight of his colleagues to read it. For Sorai the problem, according to Nankaku, was that legal codes were not based on moral principles or the way of the Sages per se, and if as a result of his commentaries 'the law were to become easily-understandable [such knowledge] would damage the political administration' (Imanaka 1966, p. 368).

95 Reprinted in modern characters in Sorai 1977b, pp. 16–23. The first volume of *A Tool for Translation* is the most significant work on translation published by Sorai during his lifetime. The latter volume was published posthumously in 1796.

96 In English, see Wakabayashi 2005a, pp. 135–42. Pastreich 2001 contains a discussion of Sorai's translation theories as well as a translation of the preface to *A Tool for Translation* in which Sorai outlines his ideas. An outline of some of the major Japanese scholarship on Sorai and translation is available in Tajiri 2008, pp. 221–8.

97 On the activities of the Translation Society, see Ishizaki 1940, pp. 94–116.

98 Sorai included an example of this in the first volume of *A Tool for Translation* (Sorai 1977b, pp. 32–5, English translation in Pastreich 2001, pp. 166–70). For an example of Kanzan's translations see *Amplification of the Taiheiki* (*Taiheiki engi*, 1719), a translation of the

grammar structures of Chinese texts in order to dispense with the unsatisfactory translations resulting from the established *kundoku* methods. Sorai's new methods involved vernacular Japanese and were based on what Sorai claimed was the proper understanding of Chinese words and phrases, rather than the traditional usages of *kundoku*. Lastly, Sorai taught Chinese composition, invoking the theories of Ming dynasty archaists, Wang Shizhen (1526–90) and Li Panlong (1514–70), who advocated imitating a narrow selection of classical literary styles.

Sorai's attitudes toward *kundoku* and translation can be confusing, not least because his aforementioned treatise from the first volume of *A Tool for Translation*, in which he rails against *kundoku*, was itself written using literary Sinitic glossed with *kundoku* annotations. Likewise, the example Sinitic sentences contained in *Glossed Translations for Instructing the Ignorant* (*Kun'yaku jimō*, 1738), a posthumously published record of Sorai's lectures on Chinese grammatical particles, employ *kundoku*-type glosses to indicate the new translations that Sorai affixed to characters and what he argued were the correct interpretations of their grammatical function.[99] Sorai was a pragmatist who recognized that however much he disliked the traditions of *kundoku*, it was the system in which his readers were trained. In the preface to *A Tool for Translation*, he wrote:

> At first I wanted to translate Chinese entirely anew, avoiding all elements of *wakun* [i.e., *kundoku*] annotation. Nevertheless, as [*kundoku*] has been used for many years, it cannot be immediately and completely eliminated from the reading process. Moreover, the Chinese pronunciations of words have been corrupted in Japan, and the corruptions have become Japanese pronunciations. They are not easily eliminated. For this reason, when any form of [*kundoku*] annotation is employed, a new translation should be affixed.[100]

The apparent contradiction is visible in Sorai's choice of title: *A Tool for Translation* is described as a provisional 'tool' (*sentei* 筌蹄), something to be dispensed with eventually when the reader has made Chinese their own. Yet the classical reference to which the term *sentei* alludes, ultimately suggests the impossibility of dispensing with linguistic aids. *Sentei* literally means a fish trap (*sen*) and a rabbit snare (*tei*), and comes from the ancient Chinese Daoist text *Zhuangzi* (莊子), here as translated by Pastreich:

fourteenth-century war tale *Taiheiki* into vernacular Sinitic, which also provided a further Japanese translation of the vernacular Sinitic on the same page. On this and other vernacular Chinese translations during the period, see Nakamura 1984.

99 *Translations for Instructing the Ignorant* is reprinted in modern characters in Sorai 1977a.

100 Sorai 1977b, p. 17. Translation from Pastreich 2001, pp. 149–50.

The fish trap is for catching fish; thus when the fish is caught the fish trap can be forgotten; the snare is for catching rabbits; thus when the rabbit is caught the snare can be forgotten. Words are for catching thoughts; thus when the thought is caught the words can be forgotten. But where will I meet someone who has forgotten words so that I can speak with him?[101]

For Sorai, an advanced scholar ought ideally to have internalized the structures of the Chinese language and, like Sorai claimed for himself, be capable of dispensing with *kundoku* translations in order to read classical texts smoothly in the original. Yet even as he railed against the archaic and obfuscatory circumlocutions of traditional *kundoku* and advocated getting as close to the source text as possible via spoken Chinese, in his choice of title and use of what he saw as more correct *kundoku* associations between Sinitic characters and Japanese Sorai recognized that *kundoku* and related translation methods would to some extent always be necessary.

Indeed, like Razan before him, Sorai's theories did not have the effect he desired, and his hopes of encouraging scholars to read literary Sinitic as Chinese were not widely realized. *Kundoku* methods became increasingly entrenched in Tokugawa scholarship and the publishing industry, and new schools of *kundoku* continued to develop after Sorai.[102] In fact, Nakamura Shunsaku argues that in a twist of fate Sorai's theories were partly responsible for *kundoku*'s ascendancy.[103] Scholars promoted *kundoku* in reaction against Sorai's methods and the interpretations of the classics they had produced. And at the same time, Sorai's focus on properly understanding the characters of ancient texts inspired scholars after him to move towards a more precise and literal reading of Chinese works. Scholars developed *kundoku* methods that prioritized the use of *ondoku* ('sound reading') approximations of Chinese pronunciation and which attempted to find readings for each Chinese character present in the text, even grammatical markers which had no ready equivalent in Japanese.[104]

## Translation of non-canonical, literary Sinitic texts

In the Tokugawa period, non-canonical works, including instructional texts like *Elucidation of the Six Instructions*, were subject to the full range of translational approaches, not just *kundoku*, though *kundoku* as a grammatical hacker's guide remained an important mode of engagement for these

[101] Pastreich 2001, p. 131.
[102] Some of these did attempt to use more vernacular forms of Japanese but were not widely accepted (Saitō 2008).
[103] Nakamura 2002, pp. 118–31.
[104] Saitō 2008.

texts as well.[105] Popular histories, conduct books, and Buddhist texts were among the works most commonly translated for a Japanese audience.

### *Adaptations*

Before considering the closer Japanese translations of non-canonical texts, it is important to acknowledge one of the freest forms of 'translation' that became widespread during the Tokugawa period. As noted previously, throughout Japanese history, the contents of Chinese stories had been mined as material for Japanese tales using methods that included close translation.[106] The practice of mining Chinese stories to make Japanese texts increased in the Tokugawa period as the commercial publishing industry sought to create new works for a growing market. Chinese works became a source that could be plundered, much like the classical Japanese texts discussed in Chapter 2. Books were written through the large-scale adaptation of Chinese-language sources such as *The Doll* (*Togibōko*, printed 1666) and *The Dog Charm* (*Inu hariko*, printed 1692), and closer forms of translation continued to be one of the methods for creating new texts.[107] An important early work in this respect was *Tales of Parallel Cases from under the Pear Tree* (*Tōin hiji monogatari*, first printed *c.*1624–44), a translation of a Song-dynasty collection of Chinese criminal cases by Gui Wanrong (dates unknown) entitled *Parallel Cases from under the Pear Tree* (*Tangyin bishi*) written predominantly in classical style.[108] *Tales of Parallel Cases from under the Pear Tree*, which is written in a combination of Sinitic characters and cursive kana with cursive kana glosses, is a loose translation into classical (or '*wabun*') Japanese with phrases inserted by the anonymous Japanese translator for clarity or omitted as irrelevant.[109] It provided the inspiration for Ihara Saikaku's *Japanese Parallel Cases from under the Cherry Tree* (*Honchō ōin hiji*, printed 1689), a collection of Japanese criminal cases with material adapted from *Tales of Parallel Cases from under the Pear Tree* among other works, and the criminal case genre in Japan.[110] Most famously, Japanese

[105] There were also a small number of vernacular translations from non-canonical Chinese works prior to the Tokugawa period, such as *Essentials of government in the Zhenguan Reign* (*Zhenguan zhengyao*), a Tang-period compendium of statecraft, which was translated by the prominent Chinese studies scholar Sugawara no Tamenaga (1158–1246) purportedly for Hōjō Masako (1157–1225) from the powerful family of Hōjō regents. However, there is nothing specific linking Masako with this work (Harada 1965, pp. 193–206).

[106] Ishizaki 1940, pp. 177–8. [107] Ishizaki 1940, pp. 40–53.

[108] For information on the early printed editions see Asakura 1966, pp. 235–54.

[109] A preliminary study of this translation is contained in Nakamura 1965.

[110] Noma 1981, pp. 329–36. See also Asō 1955, pp. 257–306. In addition to *Tales of Parallel Cases from under the Pear Tree*, there were also two commentaries by Hayashi Razan, *Annotated Commentary on Parallel Cases from under the Pear Tree* (*Tōin hiji kashō*, printed

translations and adaptations (now known as *honan shōsetsu*)[111] of Ming fiction with a high degree of vernacular content during the first half of the eighteenth century paved the way for the development of local forms of narrative fiction (known as *yomihon* 読本) in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.[112]

However, now let us turn to the closer forms of translation into written Japanese that were applied to non-canonical texts in addition to *kundoku*.

### *Buddhist translations*

As we have seen, prior to the Tokugawa period, some canonical works associated with the Pure Land Buddhist tradition were translated using *kundoku* transcriptions. It was not until the twentieth century, however, that the Buddhist canon appeared as a whole in Japan in more vernacular language – that is to say, language approaching more natural forms of spoken or written Japanese. However, the instructional work, *The Essentials of Deliverance*, which consisted of compiled extracts from important texts, was published in freer translational forms. The intermediate step in this process was *The Illustrated Scroll of The Essentials of Deliverance* (*Ōjōyōshū emaki*, *c.* fifteenth century) which was written in a combination of square-form kana and Sinitic characters without glosses, and illustrated.[113] This was an abbreviated and much less bound translation of the preface and first two chapters of *The Essentials of Deliverance* with insertions for clarification. It is likely that this version was composed for Buddhist clergy to use when preaching, as the lack of kana glosses assumes a high degree of literacy in Sinitic characters, and the wording of the explanations suggests that they are meant to appeal to an audience.[114]

Extracts from *The Illustrated Scroll of The Essentials of Deliverance* translation were then used as a basis for numerous illustrated translations of the text which appeared in print during the Tokugawa period.[115] These were

1662) and *Vernacular Commentary on Parallel Cases from under the Pear Tree* (*Tōin hiji genkai*, undated manuscript) involving commentary and translation of the source text, written in classical Japanese (a mixture of Sinitic characters and square-form kana). For bibliographic details of these three texts and a detailed comparison of their translation strategies, see Ōkubo 1999.

111 *Hon'an shōsetsu* 翻案小説, an anachronistic term used in Japan to denote the flurry of Japanese fiction based on Chinese sources, which flourished during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, typified by the works of Takizawa Bakin (1767–1848).

112 Ishizaki 1940, p. 182. An important early study is Asō 1955, pp. 60–143, and in more recent years Tokuda 1987, pp. 152–400.

113 Similarly, in the Kamakura period, an abbreviated translation the Lotus Sutra with illustration was also produced. See Nozawa 2006, pp. 93–110.

114 On this text, see Nishida 2001, pp. 71–91. The text of this work, minus the illustrations, is transcribed in modern characters at pp. 123–57.

115 Nishida 2001, pp. 88–91.

printed in Sinitic characters and cursive kana with cursive kana pronunciation glosses on the Sinitic characters. Nine editions are extant, dating from between 1663 and 1854.[116]

The Tokugawa reprints of this text made it possible for people with only cursive kana literacy to engage with *The Essentials of Deliverance* – or rather, with a version of it – without the aid of a teacher. There is no mention of the name of a translator or translators; rather, these works are attributed directly to Genshin, compiler of the original *The Essentials of Deliverance*. Likewise, the only preface to these translations is a translated version of Genshin's preface. The absence of a translator's name can probably be attributed to the fact that these Tokugawa-period translations were part of a textual lineage dating back to the *kundoku* transcriptions by Pure Land Buddhists, and as such, were not the work of any one translator. However, the invisibility of the translator, and the lack of any mention of the fact that these works were translated, also means the work was being directly equated with Genshin's text, the implication being that a lay audience was being given unmediated access to his original teachings. The lay audience of these *The Essentials of Deliverance* translations is also attested to by the fact that they were printed by commercial booksellers rather than temple presses. Previously there had been printed editions of the aforementioned *kundoku* transcriptions of the Lotus Sutra during the Kamakura period, but these were done by temple presses. In the Tokugawa period there was also at least one other printed edition of a *kundoku* transcription – a small-scale printing of the *kundoku* rendering of the *Sūtra on Contemplation on Amitāyus* (*Amitāyurdhyāna*), a sutra also associated with Pure Land Buddhism.[117]

Thus, Buddhist literature in Chinese, particularly that associated with the proselytizing sects, was often approached by means of translation in the form of *kundoku* transcription, and freer renderings. Such translational activity was practised from very early on in Japan, and appeared in print in the Tokugawa period for an even wider audience.[118]

### *Textbooks for women*

Another of the significant fields in which non-canonical texts written in literary Sinitic were translated was instructional manuals for women. Both *kundoku*-based methods and freer strategies were used in relation to these

[116] Nishida 2001, pp. 69–70. Facsimile reproductions of some of these texts with transcriptions in modern characters are available at pp. 158–559.
[117] Kawase 1943, pp. 130–1.
[118] On the transcription, translation and printing of sutras for a wider audience, see also Tajima 1999, pp. 1067–1106.

texts. As discussed above, among the works inspired by the *Plenty of Teachers* series was *Plenty of Teachers of the Classics: The Book of Filial Piety for women* (*Keiten yoshi onna kōkyō*, 1824) which included *kundoku* annotations, a *kundoku* transcription, and explanatory notes for the Tang period work, *The Book of Filial Piety for Women* (*Nu Xiaojing*). The fact that this work was aimed at young female readers is further evidence that some women were indeed expected to be literate in Chinese, especially where it enabled them to learn about conduct appropriate to their gender.

As well as the *kundoku*-based translations, which required women readers to engage with Sinitic on the page, there were also a number of conduct books for women produced from the seventeenth century onwards that involved less bound translation from Chinese didactic literature and collected stories (*setsuwashū* 説話集).[119] Hayashi Razan had produced a translation of biographies of famous women based on a Korean retelling in literary Sinitic of *Biographies of Exemplary Women* (*Lienü zhuan*, compiled *c.*77 BC–6 BC).[120] The best-known translation for women, however, is *Biographies of Exemplary Women in Kana* (*Kana Retsujoden*, 1655) by Kitamura Kigin, famous today for his compilation of commentaries on the *Tale of Genji* – the *Moon on the Lake* Commentary. Kigin's *Biography of Exemplary Women in Kana* translates *Biographies of Exemplary Women* into a simple form of classical Japanese (*wabun*), with the exception of the poems which are preserved in their original Sinitic with *kundoku* markers affixed.[121]

This work circulated in manuscript and was printed several times, including in 1655 and again in 1730.[122] In the afterword to his translation, Kigin explained that he wrote it so that 'girls and the like' could read the morally edifying stories from the Chinese *Biographies of Exemplary Women*.[123] The problem, he stated, was that *Biographies of Exemplary Women* was written in 'old language' (*kodai no kotoba* 古代のことは) and logographic 'true-name characters' (*mana no moji* まなの文字) as opposed

[119] See for example the texts collated in Aoyama 1982. Simple Chinese morality books (Ch. *shanshu*, Jp. *zensho*, 善書), which became common after the Song period were also translated in Japan during the Tokugawa period. The Chinese source texts were aimed at a less-educated audience and contained vernacular elements. On conduct books, see Sakai 1999–2000, and on their Japanese translations, Yagi 2007.

[120] Nakamura 1982a, pp. 7–8.

[121] See for example his treatment of the poem 采葑采菲。無以下體。徳音莫違。及尓同死 in vol. II, episode 8. A reprint in modern characters is available in Kitamura 1996. The translation of the poem is at p. 64. For a more detailed examination of Kigin's translation methods, see Xiong 2009.

[122] *Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku*.

[123] *Menowarawa no tagui* めのわらハの、たくひ (Kitamura 1996, p. 266).

to phonographic kana. This made it difficult for 'girls and the like' to understand the text on their own. Kigin self-deprecatingly describes his translation as 'simplified into vulgar language, with merely the general gist scribbled down in kana'.[124]

Tsujihara Genpo (1622 –?), who wrote a similar work, *The Four Books for Women* (*Jo Shisho*, 1656), was less tactful: the women of Japan, he lamented, have bad habits and do not study Chinese works, they read only Japanese tale literature (*monogatari*), which is not good for their morals.[125] Genpo's text – a translation in the broad sense of the word – was a simplified rewording into classical Japanese of four Chinese educational texts for women.[126] Like Kigin, Genpo presented his work as a 'simplification' (*yawarage* やはらげ) though he describes the target language as Japanese (*yamatokotoba* やまとことば) rather than the pejorative expression – vulgar language (*iyashiki kotoba*) – that Kigin used.[127] For Genpo the contrast was between Chinese and Japanese (or 'Yamato language'), whereas Kigin described it in terms of register: the exulted, or literary, versus the lowly or vulgar, and conceived of his translation in terms of a change in script.

### *What non-canonical works were not translated?*

Of the numerous fields of study in early modern Japan that used works written in literary Sinitic, one is notable here for its absence of freer translations: despite the large numbers of simplified Japanese language works dealing with Chinese-style medicine during the period, few are translations other than in a broad sense.[128] There were some exceptions, such as *Elaborating on Record of Being without Grievances* (*Muenroku jutsu*, completed 1736, first printed 1768), a collection of translated extracts from a Song period text on forensic medicine that had made its way to Japan via Korea with appended notes by Korean specialists.[129] By and large,

124 *Iyashiki kotoba ni yawaragetsutsu, ohokata no omomuki bakari o kana ni kakikegashi* いやしきことはに、やハらけつゝ、大かたの、おもむきはかりを、かんなに、かきけかし (Kitamura 1996, p. 266).

125 Tsujihara 1656, vol. I, 1r–1v. The title characters would usually be pronounced '*Onna Shisho*'; however the glosses in the introduction to this work give the pronunciation as *Jo Shisho*. The meaning remains the same.

126 *Admonitions for Women* (*Nüjie*, *c.*AD 80), *Domestic Lessons* (*Neixun*, 1404), *The Analects for Women* (*Nü lunyu*, *c.*eighth century), and *The Book of Filial Piety for Women*.

127 Tsujihara 1656 vol. I, 2r. For a more detailed analysis of Genpo's 'translation' style, see Aoyama 1982, pp. 37–203.

128 Based on the bibliographic details of works described in Kosoto 1999.

129 The translation is written in a combination of Sinitic characters and square-form kana (Kawai 1799).

however, any works of Chinese medicine composed in Japan that were not written in literary Sinitic during the period were simple introductions to Chinese medicine in more accessible forms of written Japanese. These involved translation in the sense that they were based on the literary Chinese source texts of Chinese medicine, but were reworded and explained in Japanese for a non-specialist audience.

The reason for the lack of closer translations of Chinese medical works into written Japanese probably lies in the value their contents held as the intellectual property of the medical establishment. While the new climate of information exchange and self-improvement afforded by the commercial publishing industry meant there was undoubtedly a market for easy to understand medical knowledge, to give direct access to the texts themselves would have loosened the hold those educated as doctors had on the knowledge essential to their profession. Even the publication of simplified explanations might meet with criticism. There is an anecdote, possibly apocryphal, which tells how a prolific author of such works, Okamoto Ippō (1686–1754) ceased writing them after being chided by his brother.[130] The criticism was that he endangered the lives of patients by making such texts available to uneducated people who might pose as doctors, although it is simply possible that Ippō came under fire for endangering the livelihood of classically trained doctors. Such concerns may also have been behind the choice of literary Sinitic as the vehicle of translation for some Dutch medical works in Japan, which are discussed in Chapter 4, most famously *A New Treatise on Anatomy* (*Kaitai shinsho*, 1774), the first work of Western medicine to be translated by a prominent group of Edo-based scholars. Translation could make previously distant texts accessible to a new class of reader; whether this was encouraged as a good thing or not, depended on the field to which the source text belonged.

## Translation of vernacular Sinitic

Prior to the Tokugawa period, most Chinese texts imported to Japan were written using literary Sinitic, rather than vernacular forms.[131] That is to say, they were modelled more closely on classical Sinitic than on contemporary forms of spoken Chinese. Over the centuries, however, vernacular words and phrases appeared in increasing numbers in certain kinds of Chinese

130 Fujikawa 1941, p. 292.

131 There were some exceptions to this, such as *setsuwa* tale literature and Chan discourses (*yulu* 語錄). For example, *The Fairy Cave*, the Tang period tale of the unusual which came to Japan very early on, although written in *bianwen*, the elaborate classical style employing couplets of 4 or 6 characters, also included vernacular elements (Ishizaki 1940, pp. 177–8). On the use of vernacular language in Chinese Buddhist texts, see Mair 1994.

texts, which later made their way to Japan. The number of vernacular Chinese works available in Japan increased dramatically in the seventeenth century. As a result, Japanese readers who had been trained to deal with traditional forms of literary Sinitic encountered unusual vernacular expressions and vocabulary for which their education had not prepared them. Although traditional *kundoku* remained an important means of approach, they were forced to find new ways to interpret these unfamiliar elements, when *kundoku* methods alone were not enough.[132]

The increase in written forms of vernacular Sinitic mixed in with the works available to the Japanese reader was in part a result of literary developments on the continent. With a move towards what was praised by a contemporary rhyme book, *Sounds and Rhymes of the Central Plain* (*Zhongyuan yinyun*, 1324), as the 'universally intelligible' vernacular during the Yuan period, more vernacular language appears in written narratives from the Yuan and early Ming, most notably in *pinghua* 評話 (plainly told fictional narratives), before what is often described as the heyday of the 'vernacular novel' in the late Ming.[133] This period, particularly from 1570 onwards, saw a dramatic increase in the number of books produced by commercial publishers in China; books were brought to Japan, often as ballast, by trading vessels. Among these were works considered to represent the pinnacle of the Chinese 'vernacular' novel, although they were written by highly literate authors who also used classical allusions and literary structures alongside vernacular elements.[134]

### *Translations of popular histories*

The rising popularity of vernacular Sinitic texts in Tokugawa Japan is often attributed to Ogyū Sorai's call to read Chinese texts using Chinese pronunciation and to the work of his colleague Okajima Kanzan in the mid-eighteenth century.[135] However, the study of vernacular forms of

[132] For a study of such practices, see Kawashima 2010. [133] Hanan 1981, p. 8.

[134] These authors chose to render the speech of their characters in the vernacular, but when it came to description, rather than forge a new descriptive prose in the vernacular, they relied on an allusive vocabulary and a neat, often parallel compositional structure taken directly from the classical tradition – a situation that continued until *The Scholars* and *The Dream of the Red Chamber* in the Qianlong period (1736–95). See Hsia 1968, pp. 11–15.

[135] e.g., Ishizaki 1940, Kawashima 2010, p. 316, and Pastreich 2007. Ishizaki does discuss the importance of Chinese speakers in Nagasaki as well as the importance of Chinese interpreters elsewhere (Ishizaki 1940, pp. 2–30); however, he does not discuss the early importance of Zen monasteries or *tsūzoku* works prior to Kanzan. For an exception to this approach, see Tokuda 1987, who traces the links between earlier translations of Chinese military romances and *yomihon* that existed prior to the work of Kanzan and his colleagues.

written and spoken Chinese in Japan has earlier roots in the city of Nagasaki and in the Zen temple complexes. Kanzan was from Nagasaki and it was through contact with native Chinese and Japanese interpreters who for generations spoke and studied forms of vernacular Chinese that many secular scholars first began to learn the language.[136] Furthermore, as we have seen, knowledge of vernacular Chinese was necessary in Buddhist circles, too. In Japan this meant that scholars from the temple complexes had some degree of familiarity with vernacular Chinese, either through contact with monks from China or from textual sources. The Nikkō Tōshōgū temple records show that the monk Tenkai (1536?–1643) owned numerous examples of Ming fiction, including *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, *Journey to the West* and, perhaps surprisingly for a monk's collection, even the notoriously erotic *Plum in the Golden Vase*.[137]

As Tokuda Takeshi, one historian who does note the earlier roots of translation from vernacular Sinitic, has shown, the first large-scale Japanese translations of Chinese works containing a high degree of vernacular language were produced by scholar monks in the seventeenth century.[138] These were translations of historical narratives, originally written in a simplified form of literary Sinitic with some vernacular elements. *Popularized Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (*Tsūzoku Sangoku shi*, printed 1689–92) was probably translated by a monk called Gitetsu (dates unknown) and his younger brother Getsudō (dates unknown).[139] Another pair of brother monks Mubaiken Shōhō and Shōkōken Kian (possibly the same two, though this is unconfirmed), also produced several early translations of Chinese military romances between them.[140] Thus the study of vernacular Chinese in Japan pre-dates Sorai's coterie and may be traced to the Zen Buddhist monasteries of Kyoto and Kamakura, such as the Tenryūji Temple belonging to the Rinzai sect, with which the translator (or translators) who produced *Popularized Romance of the Three Kingdoms* were affiliated.

With a few exceptions, the study and translation of vernacular Sinitic and contemporary spoken Chinese were largely confined to Nagasaki interpreters and the temple complexes in the period prior to the late seventeenth century. In the second half of the seventeenth century, however, interest in vernacular Chinese learning and translation spread to influential scholars, high-ranking shogunal ministers, and even the shoguns themselves. From the eighteenth century onwards, translations of vernacular Chinese fiction began to appear

136 Ishizaki 1940, pp. 2–30. On the study of vernacular Chinese by the Nagasaki interpreters, see Okumura 2007, pp. 153–220.
137 Nakamura 1984, p. 295.
138 Tokuda 1987, pp. 9–69.
139 Tokuda 1987, pp. 62–3.
140 Tokuda 1987, pp. 62–9.

ascribed to people with secular names – Kiyochi Iritsu (1663–1729), Okajima Kanzan, 'Ichigaku from Nagasaki' (Nagasaki Ichigaku).[141] With the exception of Okajima Kanzan, little is known of these individuals but the translations they made have survived to the present day.

The name given to these Japanese translations in their day was *tsūzoku* 通俗. The term came from Chinese, *tongsu*, meaning 'popular' or 'common', and in China referred to simplified (and often vernacular) narratives that had been written to take advantage of the expansion of the reading public beyond the learned classes, though they could be enjoyed by literati as well.[142] In Japan, according to booksellers' catalogues, *tsūzoku* included both translations from Chinese historical romances and simple versions of Chinese chronicles, which were not necessarily direct translations.[143] The Chinese texts upon which these works were based were written in a combination of simple literary Sinitic with varying degrees of vernacular overlay, and the translations were written in a Sino-Japanese mixed prose using a combination of square kana and Sinitic characters. The number of *tsūzoku* translations increased dramatically from the mid-eighteenth century as works were produced for the commercial publishing industry. Eventually, they became the inspiration for Japanese works, particularly those belonging to the *yomihon* genre.[144]

Though not all works regarded as *tsūzoku* in their day involved translation, in those works which do, the methodology was highly varied.[145] Even within a single translation, there could be vastly different translation styles: in *Popularized Biographies of Female Immortals from the Great Ming* (*Tsūzoku daimin josenden*, 1780), for example, the translator Miyake Shōzan (1718–1801) used various methods including short sections of the original (such as poetry or letters) with *kundoku* annotation, *kundoku* transcription, freer translation that still follows the original, and the technique of summarizing some ten or so lines of the original into roughly one line of translation.[146] Other translators included vernacular Chinese vocabulary in the text of their translation with the Japanese translation

[141] The bibliographic details of these works, produced prior to 1720 when the number of translations increased dramatically, and their Chinese source texts are available in Pastreich 2011, pp. 59–62.
[142] McLaren 2005. [143] Nakamura 1984, pp. 280–2. [144] Tokuda 1987.
[145] Katsuyama 2011.
[146] This text is a translation of *Informal History of the Female Immortal* (*Nüxian waishi*, *c.*seventeenth–eighteenth century). A facsimile copy of the Japanese translation is reprinted in Miyake 1985. For a brief overview of the translation methodology used, see Tanaka 1985, p. 632.

glossed in square kana. These other authors of *tsūzoku* works also used *kundoku* as one of a number of translation strategies.[147]

As with the examples of *kundoku* and Kigin's translation discussed above, where translation was subsumed under the heading of 'reading' or 'simplification', the lack of a terminological distinction between the translated versions and the simplified histories effaces the act of translation. Few of these works mention translation at all in their prefaces: of the eleven works reproduced in Nakamura Yukihiko's collection of vernacular Chinese works translated during the Tokugawa period, only one includes any detailed reference to translation or discussion of the translator's strategy.[148] Few contain any reference to translation at all.

Indeed, the author of *Popularized Romance of the Three Kingdoms* does not describe his work as a translation, but rather writes that:

I elaborated on the meaning of the text, based on Luo Guanzhong's story, and used Chen Shou's history as a reference work, dividing it up into 50 chapters[巻] and calling it *Popularized Romance of the Three Kingdoms*.[149]

Thus his translation is conceived of simply as a lecture on history, with the practice of translation hidden within the act of teaching history. The linguistic transfer taking place is almost completely effaced.

As for the purpose of his work, the author writes:

読之者、苟有善以為勧、悪以為警幸予之原志也哉[150]

If those who read this are encouraged to do good, and warned against doing evil, then fortunately I will have achieved my aims.

Similar sentiments are expressed in the preface to *Popularized Account of the Eastern Han Dynasty* (*Tsūzoku tōkan kiji*, 1699):

庶観之者、勧善懲悪而為修身正心之一助則幸莫大焉[151]

My hope is that people who read this will be moved to good and warned away from evil. If it is an aid to correcting the heart/mind and to moral training, I shall have no greater happiness than this.

[147] A detailed analysis of the varied translation methods used in *tsūzoku* works is contained in Okada 2006, pp. 336–53.

[148] *Popularized Complete Account of Enraptured Enlightenment* (*Tsūzoku suibodai zenden*, 1757) (Okada 2006, pp. 356–7). Okada omits *Popularized Ancient and Modern Marvels* (*Tsūzoku kokon kikan*, 1814) from his analysis, but this work contains no details either (see Nakamura 1984–7, vo1. VI, pp. 501–2).

[149] Waseda Daigaku Henshūbu 1911–12, vol. IV, p. 1.

[150] Waseda Daigaku Henshūbu 1911–12, vol. IV, p. 2.

[151] Waseda Daigaku Henshūbu 1911–12, vol. III, p. 1.

As with any preface, it is difficult to know how seriously to take these remarks – are they genuine expressions of the translators' concerns or simply lip-service to traditional justification for historical writing (the idea of 'encouraging good and punishing evil' *Quanshan chenge* 勧善懲悪, Jp. *kanzen chōaku*)? At the very least these remarks demonstrate the established notion that such texts needed to be instructional, and that translations must at least appear to accord with this. Thus, while the works were ostensibly translated for the sake of moral improvement, in practice it may have been a way of selling books to a public eager to read historical adventures. Indeed, *Collated Lessons* (*Jugyōhen*, 1783), a simple introduction to the study of Chinese classics by Emura Hokkai (1713–88), records that *tsūzokumono* 通俗物 ('popularized things'), as he calls them, were read by children for pleasure when they were not performing *kundoku* readings of more difficult texts. Later, he writes, these *tsūzoku* works were a great help to them when they eventually came to read Chinese histories.[152]

### *Translations of Ming and Qing 'novels' – the case of* Water Margin *(Shuihu zhuan)*

The works described by Hokkai were translations of popularized Chinese historical works, but there were also *tsūzoku* versions of the more sophisticated Ming works of extended narrative fiction, including three of the 'Four Great Novels': *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms*, *Water Margin*, and *The Journey to the West*.[153] The many different translation strategies applied to this type of Chinese vernacular fiction may be illustrated with reference to *Water Margin*, the early Ming novel which tells the story of a group of outlaws living in the Lianshan Marsh. *Water Margin* was hugely successful in China and in Tokugawa Japan, where it became the inspiration for everything from new works of Japanese literature, illustrated prints, and even tattoos.[154]

It is not known when a version of the Hundred Chapter edition of *Water Margin* first arrived in Japan, but from records and copies extant today it seems to have been at least as early as 1624, when it is recorded in Tenkai's collection.[155] With the growing interest in vernacular Chinese

152 Nakamura 1984, p. 279.

153 The first to be translated was *The Romance of the Three Kingdoms* (Nagao 1997). Followed by *Water Margin*, and *The Journey to the West* (Isobe 1988). Only the highly erotic *Plum in the Golden Vase* (*Jin ping mei*) was not published in Japan in translated form until the Meiji period, circulating instead in *kundoku* annotated and commentarial manuscripts (Tokuda 1987, pp. 785–803).

154 On the history of *Water Margin* in Japan, see Takashima 2006.

155 Takashima 2006, pp. 77–90.

during the early eighteenth century, *Water Margin* was used as a textbook. Numerous records of lectures on this text circulated in manuscript and were used as dictionaries because they contained translations of vocabulary and short sentences of text, using both *kundoku* annotations and freer translations.[156]

In 1728 an annotated Japanese reprinting (*wakokubon*) appeared.[157] *A Tale of Loyalty on the Water Margin* (*Chūgi suikoden*) is attributed to the vernacular Chinese instructor Okajima Kanzan, and probably circulated in manuscript form prior to 1728, the year of Kanzan's death.[158] This work has very limited *kundoku* annotation, so minimal in fact that many of the vernacular Chinese elements are left without any indication as to how they should be read. A recent study shows, for example, that the character 道 (*dao*) in the sense of 'to say' (*iu* in Japanese), could have been glossed 道フ (*iu*) but was left untouched by Kanzan.[159] Rather than functioning as an introduction to how *Water Margin* could be closely translated, therefore, the annotations in this edition are a punctuated scholarly record of a particular interpretation of the text's phraseology and grammar, very likely for use at Sorai's academy where Kanzan taught.[160] Though it is possible to make a *kundoku* transcription from these glosses, the idiosyncrasies occasioned by dealing with vernacular rather than literary Sinitic would have been even less intelligible to most readers than the usual language of *kundoku*, It is thus an example of *kundoku* with strong commentarial rather than translative characteristics.[161]

Kanzan's Japanese printing of *Water Margin* was followed several decades later by *tsūzoku* 'popularized' editions. The first was *A Popularized Water Margin* (*Tsūzoku Suikoden*, 1757; translator unknown but attributed to Kanzan), and this was continued in installments by an unknown translator, part two in 1772, part three in 1784, and part four in 1790. Although this translation was not particularly accurate, it was, in effect, the main translation read in Japan until the

156 e.g., *Translation and Interpretation of Water Margin* (*Suikoden yakkai*, manuscript 1727), a copy of lectures on *Water Margin* given by Oka Hakku. A facsimile reprint is available in Kenkyūkai Koten 1973, pp. 3–278. On *Water Margin* 'dictionaries', see Odagiri 2010.

157 Takashima 2006, pp. 20–4. An up-to-date bibliographic overview of the various versions of *Water Margin* in Japan is available in Nakamura 2010.

158 *Zhongyi* 忠義, or 'loyalty' – a reference to the outlaws' service to the Song emperor following the granting of their amnesty – was part of the full Chinese title of *Water Margin* for all but the 70-chapter version, which does not include this part of the tale. See Takashima 2006, pp. 52–3.

159 Takashima 2006, pp. 74–5.

160 Takashima 2006, p. 75. On the study of vernacular Chinese at Sorai's academy, see Okumura 2007, pp. 265–83.

161 There were also numerous translations in the form of dictionaries. See Kawashima 2010, pp. 323–4 for a list of the major ones.

middle of the twentieth century, because more than 90 per cent of the version most widely read in Japan from the nineteenth to the middle of the twentieth century, Takizawa Bakin and Takai Ranzan's *Newly Edited Illustrated Tales from the Water Margin* (*Shinpen Suiko gaden*, 1805–52), was derived from this earlier translation.[162] During the Tokugawa period there were also numerous illustrated picture-book (*ehon* 絵本) versions of *Water Margin*.[163]

### *Translation of non-fiction vernacular texts: case of the Ming law code*

It was not only in works of fiction that Japanese readers encountered vernacular Sinitic usages – such language had begun to surface in legal documents during the Ming period and attracted interest at the highest levels in Japan. The Tokugawa shogun Yoshimune (shogun 1716–45) was also interested in the study of written and spoken vernacular Chinese, and commissioned numerous translations of Ming and Qing legal texts in particular. Yoshimune's interest in the subject dates from before his time as shogun: while still the lord of Kishū, Yoshimune had a number of Chinese immigrants in his service who taught spoken Chinese, and he also sponsored the study and translation of the Ming law code.[164] At his behest, the scholar Sakakibara Kōshū (1656–1706) produced *Vernacular Interpretation of the Great Ming Law Code* (*Daimin ritsurei genkai*, manuscript, finished *c.*1694) – a work which gave sections of source texts with *kundoku* markers affixed followed by an explanation of the vocabulary.[165]

During his time as shogun, Yoshimune collected rare editions of both Japanese and Chinese classical codes; he lifted the ban on the importation of texts in Chinese written by the Jesuits and purchased many of the works which subsequently came to Japan.[166] Yoshimune also commissioned Sorai's Japanese reworking of the Ming law codes – *Ming Law Codes in National Characters* (*Minritsu kokujikai*, manuscript, date unknown), an explanation of the code, rather than strictly speaking a translation. Less well known, however, is that scholars in Yoshimune's employ also produced more direct translations: Takase Gakusan (1668–1749), then serving as Yoshimune's domain physician, produced *Translated Meaning of the Great Ming Law Codes* (*Daimin ritsurei yakugi*, manuscript, 1720), a section-by-section translation into Sinitic

162 Takashima 2006, pp. 184–97.
163 On *ehon* versions of *Water Margin* in Japan, see Takashima 2006, pp. 111–26.
164 Imanaka 1966, p. 369. 165 Takashio 1986, pp. 42–5.
166 Ōba 1971, pp. 62–3. On Yoshimune's support of scholarship and book-collecting, see Kornicki 2008.

characters and cursive kana of the code with an explanation of difficult terminology and the general meaning of each passage. And Ogyū Hokkei, Sorai's brother, produced an abbreviated translation, *Translation of the Ming Law Codes* (*Minritsuyaku*, manuscript, 1724).[167]

Similarly, Yoshimune sponsored the study and translation of the Qing code, first drafted in the seventeenth century. The first copy of this work, which was probably the 162-volume 1690 edition, was imported to Japan between autumn 1719 and spring 1720; Yoshimune purchased this in 1720 and ordered another copy from merchants, which arrived two years later.[168] In 1621, he ordered Fukami Gentai (1648–1722) and his son Fukami Arichika (1691–1773) to make a translation of the code. The Fukami were a family of Chinese-language interpreters based in Nagasaki, and it is likely that their familiarity with vernacular Chinese was the reason that they were appointed to this task, for, like the Ming Code, the Qing code contained vernacular elements that were difficult for Japanese scholars to understand. Gentai's grandfather, Gao Shoujue (dates unknown), was a native Chinese from Fujian Province who came to Satsuma during the Keichō period (1596–1615) and served as physician to the Lord of Satsuma Domain, Shimazu Iehisa (1576–1638).[169] Shoujue's adoptive son, a Japanese who took the name Kō Taishō (1603–?), later spent twelve years in China, returning to Japan in 1629 and becoming a Nagasaki-based interpreter of Chinese. However, neither Gentai nor Arichika had themselves been to China and sections of the code proved too difficult for them to translate without help. Arichika was ordered to take a copy of the Code to Nagasaki and to obtain the help of Chinese merchants based there.[170] He remained in Nagasaki from 1721 until 1727.

However, it is doubtful that a translation in the sense of a complete, Japanese edition of the code was ever completed. The records of the shogunal document keepers show that Arichika was ordered to make a 'translation' (*yaku*), but no document corresponding to a full translation survives.[171] What does exist is a study and abbreviated description of the contents of the code in cursive kana and Sinitic characters, with square kana glosses on the Sinitic indicating the Japanese pronunciation of Chinese institutions and titles. The surviving parts of this text, which are held by the National Archives of Japan as part of a 78-volume work called

167 On *Translated Meaning of the Great Ming Law Codes* and *Translation of the Ming Law Codes*, see Takashio 1986, pp. 45–8.
168 Ōba 1971, p. 65.Unless otherwise noted, the information in this section comes from Ōba's study.
169 On the Fukami family history, see Ishimura 1973, pp. 1–56.
170 On the Chinese merchants who assisted Arichika, see Ōba 1971, pp. 75–82.
171 *Bakufu shomotsukata nikki* (16th day, 5th month, 1727), cited in Ōba 1971, p. 69.

*Meika sōsho* 名家叢書 (Famous author series, dates unknown),[172] cover the Court of the Imperial Clan (*Zongren fu* 宗人府), the Grand Secretariat (*Neige* 内閣), the Ministry of Personnel (*Libu* 吏部), the Ministry of Rites (*Libu* 礼部), and the Ministry of Revenue (*Hubu* 戸部), and are attributed to Arichika. Ōba Osamu believes this to be a section of Arichika's translation and praises the work as having 'everywhere sections of translation that show familiarity with the entire [Qing] text and cover the general gist of [the code]', but it is really only a translation in the broadest sense, more a digest version of the outlines of the code in Japanese.[173]

If Arichika ever did complete a translation of the code (a mammoth task), it has not survived to the present day or remains undiscovered. There are two other possible explanations: one is that, rather than a full rendering, by 'translation' (*yaku*) the shogunal document keeper meant that Arichika was ordered to have certain difficult passages or terms translated by the Chinese merchants in Nagasaki. The word *yaku* was often used in this way, though it could also refer to text-length translations as well. Alternatively, Arichika may have been ordered to make a full translation, but was unable to complete the task. Perhaps it is telling that a later entry in the records of the shogunal document keepers, after Arichika returned to Edo, does not describe his work as '*yaku*' but records that after discussions with the Chinese merchants Arichika 'made numerous interpretations (*kai* 解) of the code and presented them [to the shogun]'.[174] *Kai* (also read as *ge*) may refer to translation, but more often refers to commentarial interpretations. It may be that interpretive commentaries or summaries were the goal all along, or that they turned out to be the most practical option.

These translations of the Ming and Qing codes, sponsored by Yoshimune, were produced (or attempted) in the context of scholarly investigation and study of Chinese law. Translation was not an end in itself, but rather, part of a range of scholarly strategies for approaching Chinese legal texts that included commentaries, *kundoku* annotations, section by section translations, and less detailed translational summaries. Yoshimune only ordered one work to be translated with a wider audience in mind: the Sinitic work of moral instruction, *Elucidation of the Six Instructions*, discussed earlier.

## Conclusion

The long history of contact with China and the importance of Sinitic texts in Japanese education meant that translation in various guises was among

[172] The translation comprises vols. L and LI. A facsimile is reproduced in Kansai Daigaku Tōzai Gakujutsu Kenkyūjo 1981, pp. 388–479.
[173] Ōba 1971, p. 73. [174] Ōba 1971, p. 69.

a number of modes of engagement used to deal with 'Chinese'. *Kundoku*, in the form of annotation and transcription, is demonstrably one such example of translation, though it was of a highly bound variety and should not be considered in isolation from commentary and recitation, for it also functioned as an aid to these practices. Other translation strategies ranged from freer translations into classical Japanese (*wabun*) to more Sinitic forms of Japanese written in square kana and Sinitic characters with a grammar closely influenced by *kundoku*.

This chapter has shown that the status of a source text influenced the choice of strategies by which a text might be translated. The Five Classics and Masters Literature, were, with very few exceptions, translated using *kundoku* in order to preserve the form of the source text as much as possible, and because of the educational benefits of studying these texts using *kundoku* recitation. Non-canonical works, whether in literary Sinitic or containing a high degree of vernacular overlay, could be approached by means of all the translation strategies available.

The absence of freer translations of canonical Chinese texts in the Tokugawa period when the Japanese classics were being translated into vernacular Japanese, suggests that, unlike translations from the Japanese classics, there was no market for less-bound versions of the Chinese classics in the commercial publishing industry. The immediate value of the Sinitic canon lay in its status as an educational tradition and it was the rules for reading, intonation, and interpretation associated with this tradition, mediated by *kundoku*, that were included and circulated in printed versions like the *Plenty of Teachers of the Classics* series. However, as was the case with *Elucidation of the Six Instructions* above, there were freer translations of Chinese textbooks and instruction manuals that presented the contents of the Buddhist and Confucian traditions in digest form.

The Tokugawa period, moreover, saw an increase in interest in the study and translation of vernacular Chinese beyond Nagasaki and the temple complexes. Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu and the eighth shogun, Tokugawa Yoshimune in particular, sponsored the study of spoken Chinese and the translation of works, such as the Ming and Qing law codes, which contained vernacular vocabulary. In addition to scholars, the role of Nagasaki interpreters of Chinese was central to this process: they became teachers of these illustrious patrons, and were consulted by official scholars in cases where the vernacular elements of a text proved too difficult. The role of Nagasaki interpreters of Dutch was also important in the history of translation from Western languages, and is discussed in Chapters 4 and 5.

# 4 Translation of Western languages

With the exception of those Chinese works dealing with Western subjects which will be discussed in the next chapter, from the late seventeenth century until the middle of the nineteenth it was mainly through the medium of the Dutch language that knowledge of the West was mediated in Japan. This took place through hundreds of books brought over the years by the Dutch East India Company (VOC) traders, who lived on the man-made island of Deshima in Nagasaki harbour and at periodic intervals travelled to Edo to pay their respects to the shogun. Information was also gleaned via conversations conducted by eager scholars with the Dutch and men of other nationalities working for the VOC both in Nagasaki and on their periodic trips to Edo. Needless to say, translation, in one form or another, was central to these exchanges. Yet many questions remain unanswered: what translation strategies were used by those who translated Dutch texts into Japanese? Who exactly were these translators and with what motives did they engage in translation? And where did translation fit into the professional life of scholars of Dutch Learning? Concentrating on the period before the 1840s when news of the Opium War caused a change in translation activity, this chapter seeks to answer these questions, with the aim of learning more about translation, the Dutch studies phenomenon, and the ways in which knowledge of the West circulated in Japan during the Tokugawa period.

It is undeniable that there was a high degree of control over commercial and political interaction with representatives of other nations, including the Dutch, during Japan's early modern period, though it is debatable to what extent this ever amounted to a consciously articulated and systematically enforced policy of 'national isolation' (*sakoku*).[1] It would be a mistake, however, to assume from the strict rules governing movement, trade, and commerce that people in Japan had no knowledge of or interest in the outside world. The great interest in classical and contemporary

[1] See the discussion of this issue in Chapter 1.

Chinese culture was discussed in the previous chapter. In addition, it is well known that the study of Western learning flourished in Japan from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, and that knowledge of Western technologies like the telescope and new painterly techniques involving perspective was widespread in the popular culture.[2] Moreover, as this chapter will show, translations from Western-language materials during the Tokugawa period number in the thousands and these circulated throughout the country in both manuscript and print.[3]

## Jesuit translations

The earliest known translations from Western languages into Japanese date from the arrival of the first Portuguese traders in 1543 and the missionary Francis Xavier (1506–52), who followed shortly afterwards in 1549.[4] Xavier had some of his works translated into Japanese with the intention of having them printed.[5] This wish was to remain unfulfilled since it was not until the Jesuits installed a printing press in their college at Kazusa in 1590 (the college and press were later removed to Amakusa) that it was possible to begin printing Christian texts in Japan.[6] For a brief period, there were oral translations from Portuguese, which was at that time an important language of commerce, as well as numerous translations of Latin religious texts into literary Japanese and the Japanese vernacular of the Kyushu region, where a Jesuit mission and printing press were based. Although these Jesuit translations did not circulate

[2] A useful study of this phenomenon is Screech 2002.

[3] In the absence of a comprehensive bibliography of early modern Japanese translations from Western sources, this figure and those below, unless otherwise stated, are based on four main bibliographic sources: the most detailed contemporaneous Tokugawa-period bibliographic work on translation, *List of Translations with Elaboration by Scholars of Western Studies* (*Seiyōgakka yakujutsu mokuroku*, 1852, reproduced in Suitei 1913); a rare example of a modern bibliography of Tokugawa works of Western history and geography (*Kaikoku Hyakunen Bunka Jigyōkai*, 1953); a list of Tokugawa medical/scientific translations compiled by the modern scholar Miyasita Saburō (1975); and the most comprehensive bibliography of pre-modern Japanese works, the database maintained online by the National Institute for Japanese Literature (see *Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku*). Since this database does not categorize works as translations, and it is therefore impossible to search for translational works by category, I have limited my data collection from this database to translated works by those authors who appear as translators in either of the first two bibliographic sources. The actual number of translations made during the period is probably much higher than these figures reveal.

[4] On the period which is often called Japan's 'Christian Century', see Boxer 1951.

[5] Kornicki 1998, p. 125. Xavier's translator was most likely the early convert Yajirō (Whelan 1996, pp. 3–5).

[6] On the Jesuit mission press, see Pacheco 1971. There were other Jesuit printing presses in Japan, such as one in Kyoto which in 1610 was used to print a Japanese translation of *Contemptus Mundi* (Kornicki 1998, p. 125).

widely throughout the rest of the early modern period because of the subsequent ban on Christian texts, as the first examples of translation from Western-language texts, it is worth pausing briefly to consider them before moving on to the Dutch translations that came afterwards.

Around twenty of the Japanese Jesuit works or textual fragments extant today are translations either in whole or in part; eleven more are no longer extant but are known to have been printed, and a further twenty may have been printed.[7] In addition to these, a number of manuscripts have come to light, mainly those preserved by the crypto-Christians or their descendants. These contain (or contained, for some are now lost) something in the vicinity of fifteen more translations.[8] Thus at a conservative estimate, the missionaries and their converts produced at least sixty-five translations or works containing fragments of translation into Japanese during their twenty-five-year stay in the country. The contents of the translated works were mainly religious catechisms, devotionals, and philosophical treatises, such as the *Compendium* (1593), the textbook written to be used in teaching at the Jesuit college. The *Compendium* was compiled in Latin by Pedro Gomez (1535–1600) and translated two years later into Japanese by Pedro Ramon (1550–1611) (probably with Japanese help) and included *De Sphaera*, *De Anima*, and *Compendium Catholicae Veritas*.[9] Not all works translated were obviously religious, however. The Jesuit output also included a translation of Aesop's Fables and a vernacular translation of the twelfth-century Japanese epic *Tale of the Heike* (*Heike monogatari*), which a Japanese convert translated into the spoken dialect of the Kyushu region where the Jesuits were based, in order to assist foreign Jesuits with learning Japanese.[10]

Not all such texts were produced in Japan itself: in the early years some were produced at the Collegio de São Paulo in Goa by the first Japanese convert to Christianity, a poorly educated man of possibly samurai origins called Anjirō, who had met Xavier in Malacca and later accompanied Xavier to Japan where Anjirō continued his translation activities.[11]

7 Bibliographic data from Laures 1957, pp. 35–100.

8 The lack of precise figures is due to ambiguity as to whether the Japanese versions should be treated as one text or as several. This was so in the case of crypto-Christian manuscripts containing translations of, variously, the act of contrition, the 'Our Father', the 'Hail Mary', the 'Salve Regina', etc. (Laures 1957, pp. 115–16).

9 A reproduction of this work in modern Japanese characters is available in Obara 1997–9. The only extant copies are manuscripts, and the original translation of *De Sphaera* is missing. Obara substitutes *Outline of Heaven and Earth* (*Nigi ryakusetsu*, 17th century), a later translation by Kobayashi Yoshinobu (1601–83).

10 Doi 1963, pp. 70–81; Watson 2006, pp. 3–8. Watson 2006 also includes an examination of a later Japanese renderings of *Aesop*, but notes there is thought to be no direct link between these later versions and the Jesuit translation (Watson 2006, pp. 11–12).

11 Higashibaba 2001, pp. 5–11; Ebisawa 1989, pp. 25–34.

Off-shore translation for the Japanese mission field occurred again after the expulsion of the missionaries in 1614, though the numbers of titles dropped dramatically. Between 1622 and1623, when the persecution in Japan was at its height, the Dominicans at Manila published three books for the Japanese mission, two of which were translations, and efforts to print books for Japan continued throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, suggesting that the missionaries had not abandoned hope of one day returning to Japan.[12] Indeed, the author of the translations produced by the Manila press, Dominican Juan Rueda de los Angeles, returned to Japan and was martyred in 1623.

Many of the translations which were printed by the Jesuits during their stay in Japan, particularly during the early years, were printed in the Latin alphabet.[13] It was not until 1590 that Alessandro Valignano (1539–1606), then head of the Jesuit Mission, returned to Japan bringing with him carved wooden types for Japanese, probably made in Macao. The press was using improved wooden types for printing kana and Sinitic characters in 1591, and by 1598 had metal types.[14] However, even after printing in Japanese characters was possible, some translations into Japanese continued to be printed in the Latin alphabet in order to assist the missionaries with learning Japanese.[15]

The brief period of missionary-sponsored translation from European languages into Japanese ended with the decrees prohibiting Christianity in 1612 and the expulsion of the missionaries in 1614. Fewer than forty works or fragments of texts printed by the Jesuits in Japan and even fewer manuscripts survive, most likely as a result of the persecutions which followed the expulsion.[16] The seventeenth-century Jesuit historian Daniello Bartoli (1608–85) records that on 23 July 1626 'a mountain' of Jesuit publications was burned at Nagasaki.[17]

## Beginnings of translation from Dutch

After the missionaries were expelled, Dutch, English, Spanish, and Portuguese traders remained in Japan for a time; the English until their

[12] Laures 1957, pp. 122–6.
[13] For bibliographic details of printed Jesuit materials see Obara 1999, pp. 294–7.
[14] Moran 1993, p. 154.
[15] e.g., *Tales of The Heike* (*Feiqe no monogatari*), *Collection of Valuable Sayings* (*Kinkushū*), and *Tales of Aesop* (*Esopo no Fabulas*, 1593), attributed to a Japanese convert, and later apostate, Fabian (Fucansai) (1565–1621) (Inoue 1968, pp. 593–609). Translation was intended 'not only as an aid for practising the Japanese language but also so as to be able to teach people about the right path'. '*Nipponno cotoba qeicono tameni tayorito naru nominarazu, yoqi michiuo fitoni voxiye cataru tayoritomo narubeqi mono nari.*' (日本の言葉稽古のために便となるのみならず、善き道を人に教え語る便ともなるべきものなり) (Inoue, 1964, p. 408).
[16] Kornicki 1998, p. 126. [17] Moran 1993, p. 145; Kornicki 1998, p. 126.

factory closed down in 1624, the Spanish until the shogunate severed diplomatic relations in the same year, and the Portuguese until they were expelled in 1639. Only the Dutch remained, but commercial interests, unlike religious ones, seem not to have resulted in many translations in print or manuscript. Very few translations have come to light from this period.

It is likely that the clampdown on Christianity and a series of shogunal edicts restricting travel and trade overseas (1633–6) meant that for a while the study of foreign matters carried a certain degree of risk in Japan. However, this alone cannot account for the scarcity of translation during the period. For one thing, it is unlikely that there was ever a wholesale prohibition on the importation of Western books, as some scholars suggest.[18] The Kansei edict of 1630, issued by the shogun, Iemitsu (1603–51; ruled 1623–51), though no longer extant, seems to have prohibited only the importation of certain Western books associated with Christianity, specifically thirty-two Sinitic works by the Jesuit missionary to China, Matteo Ricci (1552–1610), and other Europeans.[19] The purpose of the edict was thus to 'wipe out the new religion but not necessarily to exclude the culture of the West'.[20] Not only did the Dutch present Western scientific works to the shogunate during this period, but the shogunate also ordered Western-language books from them.[21] Looking beyond official circles, the ban on Chinese books dealing with Christianity was patchy in its enforcement, and some books certainly made it through. For example, a copy of one of Ricci's banned works was shown to Ogyū Sorai in the 1720s and circulated secretly in manuscript form.[22]

It seems likely, then, that the scarcity of translations from the period following the last of the mission translations in the early seventeenth century until the emergence of translation within the new field that came to be known as 'Dutch studies' (*rangaku* 蘭学) in the eighteenth was due to the combined effects of a lack of linguistic expertise and an absence of any strongly perceived reason to engage in translation. With the Portuguese expelled, it was increasingly works in the Dutch language that Japanese readers encountered. The development of Dutch language skills by hereditary families of official interpreters (*tsūji* 通詞), who operated in the Nagasaki port town, was a slow process of transition as fewer and fewer Portuguese-speaking Dutchmen came to Japan and the interpreters were

[18] e.g. Rubinger 1982, p. 102. For a detailed examination of this issue, see Ōba 1967, pp. 32–46.
[19] Ōba 1967, pp. 32–46; Kornicki 1998, pp. 326–7. Kornicki notes that though it may have been the case that all books by Europeans irrespective of the contents were banned, this is not evident from the nineteenth-century writings of the shogunal librarian, Kondō Seisai (1771–1829), upon which present-day knowledge of the Kansei edict depends.
[20] Goodman 2000, p. 35. [21] Michel 2007a. [22] Kornicki 1998, p. 330.

gradually forced to change their language specialization.[23] Moreover, previously the desire to translate had been the missionaries' own, but it was not until Japanese scholars became interested in European medical, historical, and military works that they were moved to begin mining the contents of these works and translating these texts for themselves.

The proliferation of works dealing with Western knowledge that subsequently appeared in the first half of the eighteenth century is often attributed to the influence of the eighth shogun, Tokugawa Yoshimune (ruled 1716–45), who was interested in the practical benefits to be gained from the study of Western science.[24] Throughout his time as shogun, Yoshimune encouraged the study of Western astronomy, geography, shipping, weapons, medicine, botany, zoology, and art. He also lifted the ban on the importation of those Western books on calendrical sciences translated into Chinese by Matteo Ricci, which had previously been disallowed on account of Ricci's missionary background. Yoshimune's influence cannot be discounted, but it must be placed against the backdrop of the steady rise in Japanese works dealing with Western learning, which spanned the century. As the data in Figure 6 indicate, there does not appear to have been a sudden peak in the number of translations during Yoshimune's time. Furthermore, an understanding centred on shogunal sponsorship does not account for the many private scholars, including literati, Nagasaki interpreters, and medical men, or some combination of all three, who were already interested in Western learning during Yoshimune's day and who continued to produce translations and earn a living from some aspect of Dutch studies without shogunal sponsorship.

For many years the standard narrative of the early days of Dutch studies followed the account by the Edo-based scholar Sugita Genpaku (1733–1817) in his *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime*, 1815). Sugita depicted a small circle of Edo-based intellectuals struggling, word by word, over a precious Dutch translation of the German work *Anatomical Diagrams* (*Anatomische Tabellen*, 1722, 3rd edn. 1732) by Johann Adam Kulmus (1689–1745), until at last they produced *A New Treatise on Anatomy* (*Kaitai shinsho*, 1774), seemingly the first translation in Japan of a Dutch-language work and the first Japanese work of Western anatomy, thus launching the field of Dutch studies.[25] Soon afterwards, so the standard narrative now goes, the shogunate became interested in Dutch studies and, by hiring important Dutch studies scholars (*rangakusha*)

23 On the development of the interpreters' skills, see De Groot 2005, pp. 23–45.
24 e.g. Numata 1950, pp. 11–12; Goodman 2000, pp. 49–65. For a discussion of this issue, see Satō 2000, pp. 72–8.
25 A reprint in modern characters is available in Sugita 1930.

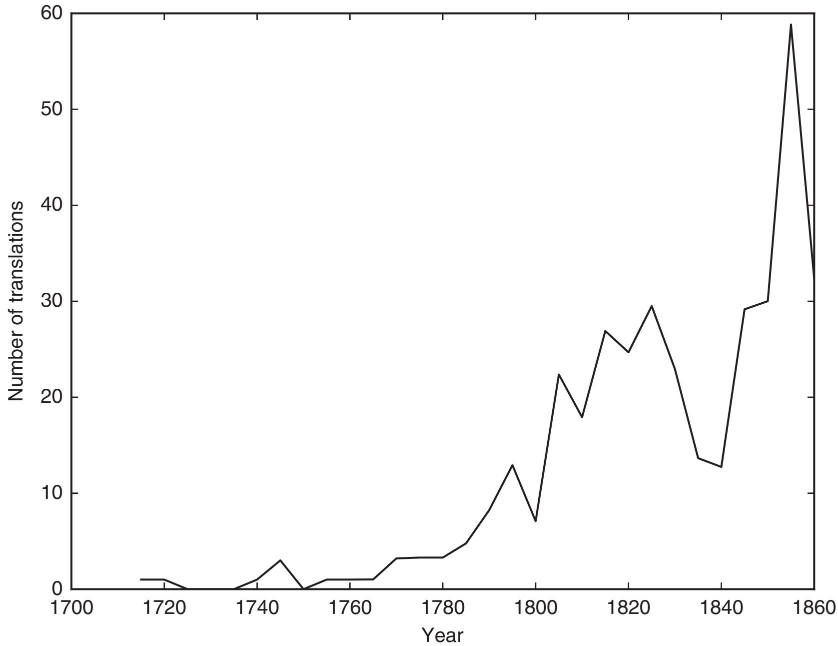


Figure 6 Translations of Western works over time[26]

brought the 'new' field largely under state sponsorship.[27] The Nagasaki-based interpreters are described as largely peripheral to all this or are accused of being poor Dutch linguists; research into Dutch studies in the provinces was late to develop and regional Dutch studies is rarely the main focus of study.[28]

The reality, as some scholars have begun to argue, was considerably different.[29] In contrast to the view promoted in *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* and still accepted by many even today, *A New Treatise on Anatomy* was not the first translation of a Dutch book in Japan.[30] Prior to it interpreters and

[26] For sources, see n. 3. The graph shows the spread of translations likely to have appeared in a given year, based on works for which a date is known, or, in cases where the exact date is unknown, author birth and death dates. My thanks go to Dr Andrew Rice at the University of Cambridge Computer Laboratory for his analysis. Figures 7 and 8 are based on the same sources and analysis.
[27] e.g., Satō 1980.
[28] Aoki Toshiyuki has pioneered the study of provincial Dutch learning (Aoki 1998; Aoki and Iwabuchi 2004).
[29] See for example Sugimoto 1990b, pp. 72–84, Tasaki 1985, Horiuchi 2003.
[30] Vande Walle 2001, p. 20; Rubinger 1982, pp. 103, 106; Matsuda 1998, p. 3.

medics had produced several Japanese works based on sections of the 1649 Dutch-language version of Ambroise Paré's *On Surgery* (*De chirurgie*, 1592).[31] Other early works of translation were completed by the Nagasaki-based interpreter Imamura Ichibei (1671–1736), including *A Book of Dutch Horsemanship* (*Oranda basho*, 1729).

Nor was *A New Treatise on Anatomy* the first work of Western anatomy to be translated in Japan. The scholar Motoki Ryōi (1628–97), another interpreter, had translated a Dutch edition of a work of anatomy by Johannes Remmelin (1583–1632), *Microcosmic Diagrams* (*Pinax Microcosmographicus*, 1667), some time earlier.[32] Remmelin's work was the greatest of the anatomical 'flap' books, featuring full-page plates with anatomical illustrations superimposed so that lifting the layers shows the anatomy as it would appear during dissection. Ryōi's translation, *Dutch Anatomical Diagrams* (*Oranda zenku naigai bungōzu*) was published in 1772 after his death and again in 1794, but presumably circulated in manuscript form during Ryōi's lifetime, that is to say, nearly one hundred years before *A New Treatise on Anatomy* appeared in 1774.[33]

The significance of *A New Treatise on Anatomy* instead lies in the fact that it was the first major work of translation from Dutch by established Edo-based scholars who published their efforts in print, and went to great lengths to obtain the approval of the shogunate in order to do so. *A New Treatise on Anatomy* was not intended for a narrow audience of medical experts, but was aimed at a more general readership of educated samurai, thus marking the beginnings of this type of scholarly interest in Dutch learning, though the choice of literary Sinitic as the language of translation was criticized by some for not being accessible

[31] *Barbarian Surgery Transmitted* (*Kōi geka sōden*, 1706) by the Nagasaki interpreter Narabayashi Chinzan (1648–1711); *A Book of Sword Wound Treatments* (*Kinsō tetsuboku ryōji no sho*, 1735), closely related to *Barbarian Surgery Transmitted*, but written by another interpreter Nishi Gentetsu (1681–1760); and *Diagrams for Surgical Instruction* (*Geka kinmō zui*, 1769) by the medic Irako Mitsuaki (1737–99) (Miyasita 1975, p. 42). According to Miyasita, the Dutch source text is *On Surgery, and all the Opera or Works by Mr Ambroise Paré* (*De Chirurgie Ende alle de Opera ofte Wercken van Mr Ambrosius Paré*, Dordrecht, 1592, Amsterdam, 1649). In some cases, more than one source text was used, however. Kanbara 1992 has shown that many of the illustrations in *Barbarian Surgery Transmitted* come from a version of Johannes Sclutetus's *The Surgical Arsenal* (*Armamentarium Chirurgicum*, 1656).

[32] Identified by Miyasita 1975, p. 16.

[33] Note that *A New Treatise on Anatomy* was not even the first work of dissection-based anatomy to be published in Japan: though not a translation, *Description of the Organs* (*Zōshi*) by Yamawaki Tōyō (1705–62) was first printed in 1759. For further details of Japanese anatomical works of importance which appeared before or at roughly the same time as *A New Treatise on Anatomy*, see Mester 1954, pp. 310–11. For more on translation prior to *A New Treatise*, see also Sugimoto 1990a, p. 61.

enough.[34] *A New Treatise on Anatomy*, moreover, reflects the strongly empirical approach that at the time was becoming increasingly characteristic of students of the natural world in Japan, and by publishing accurate, Western anatomical diagrams, helped to discredit Chinese medical opinion.[35]

## Development of Dutch studies

From the number of Japanese-language works – including translations – dealing with Western knowledge that are known today from the Tokugawa period, it can be seen that interest in Western knowledge gradually began to increase in the early years of the eighteenth century when the Nagasaki interpreters observed Dutch doctors treating patients.[36] In the years that followed, there was a steady increase in books dealing with Western learning, which grew to a flood. Not surprisingly, there was also a steady rise in the number of translations in the same period, continuing more or less unabated until 1832–42, around which time conservative elements within the shogunate, discussed in Chapter 5, were responsible for the arrest of twenty-six scholars of Western learning, associated with a group that had published tracts critical of the shogunate's maritime policy – the 'Gaoling of the Barbarian Studies Society' (*Bansha no goku* 蛮社の獄) incident of 1839. From that time onwards stricter controls were applied to the importation, publication, and translation of Dutch works. It was also towards the end of the Tenpō era (1830–44) that numerous laws were enacted to bring commercial publishing under stricter government control, making it more difficult to print works, including translations.[37] Manuscripts are much harder to date and it is likely that the drop in dateable translations from this period is the result of the tighter controls on print that led to the circulation of more works in manuscript form (see Figure 7).

Indeed, the vast majority of translations from Dutch circulated in manuscript throughout the whole of the early modern period, and it is difficult to date them precisely. Publishing a work of Dutch studies in print could be particularly difficult, especially if the contents were medical and might be viewed as a threat to the established medical authorities who were trained in Chinese medicine,[38] or if the contents might be

34 Screech 2001, pp. 106–8; Screech 1997, pp. 171–6. Screech 2002, p. 268, n.104. The choice of literary Sinitic is discussed in more detail below.
35 Bartholomew 1976, p. 113.
36 Based on the events recorded in Sakai's chronological table (1984). For a traditional account of the development of Dutch studies and Western studies, see Numata 1950, pp. 30–54 ; Numata 1960, pp. 78–99.
37 Kornicki 1998, p. 343. 38 Yayoshi 1972. See also Kishida 2010, pp. 61–5.

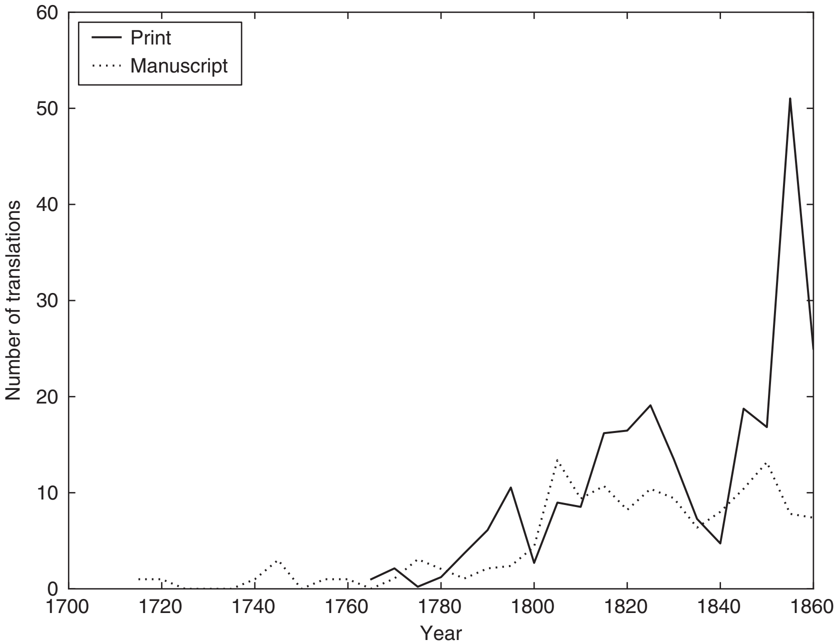


Figure 7 Translations of Western works in manuscript and print over time

viewed as critical of the shogunal government.[39] However, it is also important to note that much of the intellectual or cultural capital to be gained from producing a translation in the field of Dutch studies did not accrue through publication for a wide audience, but rather, as discussed below, through the act of circulating the translation privately among friends and colleagues. Considering also that knowledge of Western medicine in particular was a form of intellectual property by which medical men made a living, it is hardly surprising that translations often circulated in manuscript form. The practice of *hiden* 秘伝 (secret transmission), in which highly prized knowledge was passed only from master to initiate, had long been a cornerstone of Japanese artistic and intellectual traditions, and Dutch studies was no exception.[40]

[39] As Hayashi Shihei (1738–93) discovered when he was arrested following the publication of *Discussion of the Military Problems of a Maritime Nation* (*Kaikoku heidan*, 1791), which criticized the shogunate's lack of naval readiness.

[40] Morinaga 2005 is a useful study on *hiden*.

## What was translated?

Accounts of Dutch studies usually focus on medical and scientific texts like *A New Treatise on Anatomy*. However, an investigation of translated works from the eighteenth to mid-nineteenth centuries reveals that until the early years of the nineteenth century, works based upon Western sources dealing with European history, geography, and foreign affairs were equally as numerous as medical ones.[41] Some of the earliest examples of non-medical translation are by the celebrated man of letters Arai Hakuseki, who, since he could not read Dutch, relied on the Nagasaki interpreter Imamura Ichibei to glean information about Western geography and history.[42] Many of these early, non-medical works are compilations from a variety of sources, like Hakuseki's *Various Sights and Strange Words* (*Sairan igen*, 1713) which, in addition to textual sources, included details from his conversations with the Italian Jesuit missionary Giovanni Battista Sidotti (1668–1714), who had come to Japan illegally in 1708.[43] A similar work is the highly successful *Red-Haired Miscellany* (*Kōmō zatsuwa*, first printed 1787, and reprinted in 1796, 1816, 1820, and 1829) by Shinra Manzō (1754–1808).[44] Numerous others are concerned with geography and reflect a burgeoning interest in Japan's neighbour, Russia, such as *Brief Explanation of Dutch Maps* (*Oranda chizu ryakusetsu*, 1771) by Motoki Yoshinaga (1735–94), and *Account of Kamchatka* (*Kamusakkaki*, 1789), by Maeno Ryōtaku (1723–1803); and *Record of Russia* (*Roshia shi*, 1793), by Katsuragawa Hoshū (1751–1809). The data in Figure 8 show how, in the early years of the nineteenth century, medical texts began to outnumber historical ones, probably due to the increasing value placed upon Western medical knowledge and the financial benefits for practitioners of Western medicine. However, historical and geographical works continued to be produced in both manuscript and printed form throughout the first half of the nineteenth century.

It is also worth noting that many of the works translated from Dutch into Japanese were introductory in nature or were simplifications of more complex works. The major work by Shizuki Tadao (1760–1806), *New Writings on Calendrical Phenomena* (*Rekishō shinsho*, 1798–1802), for example, was based on several Dutch sources, mainly *Introduction to the True Natural Astronomy* (*Inleidinge tot de Waare Natuuren Sterrekunde*,

[41] See also Yoshida 1984, p. 69. [42] Ishiyama 1984, pp. 225–30. [43] Semizu 2001.

[44] This is the name under which the database maintained by the National Institute for Japanese Literature lists works by Morishima Chūryō (*Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku* ). On the correct pronunciation of this author's name (i.e., Manzō rather than Banshō), see Flemming 2011, pp. 25–6.

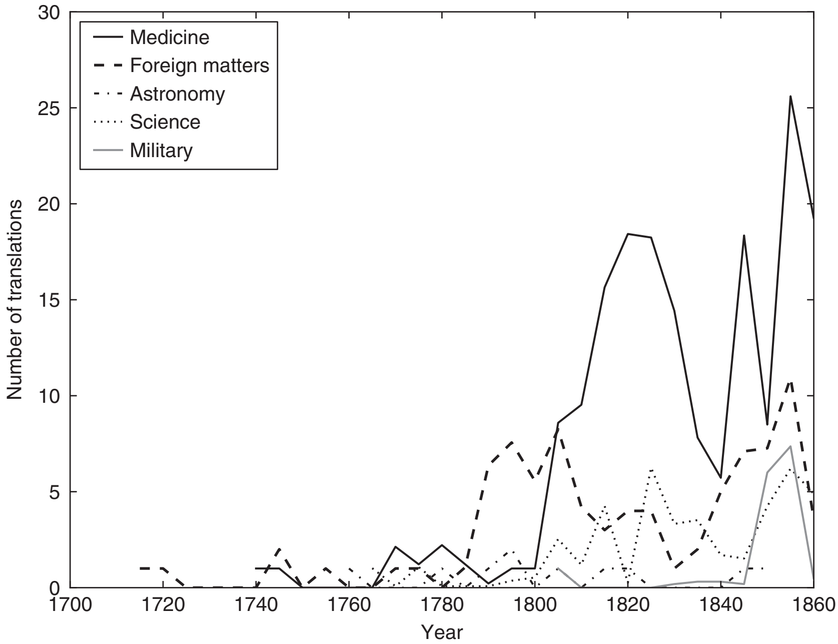


Figure 8 Translations of Western works by subject over time

1741) by Johan Lulofs (1711–68). Lulofs's book had been translated into Dutch from John Keill's (1671–1721) *Introductions to the True Physics and True Astronomy* (*Introductions ad veram Physicam et veram Astronomiam*, 1725), a widely read overview of Newtonian ideas that had been written in Latin so as to appeal to a larger audience among educated people in Europe. It was not until 1930 that a translation of Newton's *Principia* itself appeared in Japan.[45] Likewise, *Principles of Chemistry* (*Seimi kaisō*, 1837–49), by Udagawa Yōan (1798–1846), one of the most important early works of Japanese chemistry, drew upon a Dutch translation of a German version of William Henry's *Epitome of Chemistry* (1803). Henry's work was a simplified version of Antoine Lavoisier's *Elementary Treatise of Chemistry* (*Traité élémentaire de chimie*, 1789). These were books aimed at a lay audience and university students.[46]

[45] The first translation was Oka 1930. On Shizuki's translation, see Montgomery 2000, pp. 229–32, and Yoshida 2008.
[46] Montgomery 2000, p. 239.

Table 6 *Known source languages for Dutch texts translated into Japanese (1706–1852)*[47]

| Source language | German | Latin | French | English | Dutch |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Number of Japanese translations | 113 | 30 | 30 | 20 | 20 |

Such introductory works were ideal for Japanese scholars who were only just beginning to engage with European fields of study. As well as the unfamiliar intellectual territory, it took considerable effort to learn Dutch and to translate from Dutch into Japanese. The easier works provided a fast route into the information the translators hoped to extract. They were also the kinds of books the VOC employees brought with them to Japan. With the exception of some of the medical officers like Phillip Franz von Siebold (1796–1866), the men at the Deshima mission were sailors and traders, not scholars, and the works circulating in Japan reflect this.

What was translated also depended upon what was available in the Dutch language. Newton's *Principia*, for example, was not translated into Dutch until the twentieth century and so even if Shizuki Tadao had wished to translate from a Dutch version of the complete work rather than a simplified version he had no choice. As seen with the Dutch source for *New Writings on Calendrical Phenomena* and *Principles of Chemistry* above, the books upon which Japanese translations were based were often themselves translations from other European languages, mainly German, but also English, Latin, and French (see Table 6).

Unsurprisingly for a small nation engaged in trade, and with a culture relatively open to foreign influences, the Dutch were prolific translators.[48] In the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries, the Low Countries were an important centre of commercial networks that reached around the world. They were also home to an urbanized society situated at the border of Germanic and Romance languages, with a highly educated population, many of whom knew some classical languages. Combined with a significant publishing industry, first in Antwerp and later in Leiden and Amsterdam, the result was that translation flourished.[49] One study notes at least 641 translations into Dutch from English, for example, in the seventeenth century alone.[50]

[47] Figures represent those texts for which it has been possible to trace the source language thus far. On the sources of this data, see n. 3.
[48] Burke 2007, p. 23. [49] Cook and Dupré 2012a, pp. 10–12.
[50] Schoneveld 1983, pp. 167–245.

Indeed, various European historical contingencies affected the intellectual contours of the Dutch studies translation phenomenon in Japan: the first Dutch–Japanese dictionaries of good quality were partial translations based on the Dutch–French dictionary of François Halma (1653–1722), which was itself indirectly a result of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685) and the hundreds of thousands of Protestant French refugees who fled France, many of them to the Dutch Republic.[51] Even had Japanese translators preferred to use a monolingual Dutch dictionary (as opposed to one in which Dutch was paired with a foreign language), there was no proper Dutch-language dictionary until *Nederduitsch Taalkundig woordenbook* (1799–1811).[52] Likewise, various medical works which were later translated in Japan had been rendered into Dutch by translators who had fled persecution elsewhere. The first Dutch version of Ambroise Paré's *On Surgery*, mentioned above as an important source for several Japanese medical texts, was translated by a Ghent-born physician, Carel Baten (dates unknown) who had fled from Antwerp to Dordrecht after Antwerp fell to the Spanish in 1585. Translation flourished in the Low Countries during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries due to the numbers of highly educated multilingual residents there and the presence of a powerful publishing industry.[53] Through contact with the representatives of the VOC, Japanese students of Dutch were thus indirectly part of Europe-wide discourses on medicine, botany, geography, and history on which their translations were based, and the contours of their field of study were affected by events on the European continent.

## Nagasaki-based interpreters

As discussed above, the first translators of Western works in Japan were the Nagasaki-based interpreters, although their contribution has often been overlooked.[54] Officially, the interpreters were government employees, but it was in a personal capacity that they began the activities which led to the spread of Dutch studies and Dutch translation throughout Japan. Much of the Western learning which passed to them as a result of the Dutch presence in Nagasaki did so in the early years in the form of

[51] Matsuda 1998, pp. 99–100. The first Japanese–French dictionaries, by Motoki Masahide, discussed in Chapter 5, were based on Marin's Dutch–French dictionary, also a product of these historical circumstances.
[52] De Groot 2005, p. 86, n. 83.
[53] See the essays contained in Cook and Dupré 2012b.
[54] Sugimoto 1990b, p. 72.

practical medical knowledge rather than as translations of Western books. The interpreters were often present when Dutch doctors treated their patients and, by observation and questioning, some began to learn what they called 'red-haired surgery' (*kōmō geka* 紅毛外科), starting their own schools (*ryū* 流).[55] One of the earliest works was *Secrets of Red-Haired Medicine* (*Kōmōryū geka hiyō*, 1654), which contained the oral teachings of a Dutch surgeon, translated by Nagasaki interpreters and transcribed by Mukai Genshō (1609–1677).[56] The oral teachings of other Dutch surgeons were also written down around this time.[57] The beginnings of the Dutch studies movement can be traced back to these Nagasaki-based interpreters, who developed an interest in Western learning, and to the students who came to Nagasaki to study with them.[58] It was thus from Nagasaki that the interest in Dutch studies spread to the rest of Japan.

With the exception of these few medical texts and some personal glossaries, little of the interpreter output has been studied.[59] There has been a corresponding tendency to dismiss their language abilities as insignificant and to conclude that their contribution to the Dutch studies movement was minimal.[60] Language difficulties no doubt plagued the lower-ranking interpreters; the Deshima Daily Register (*Dagregister*) kept by the Dutch traders also records dissatisfaction with the linguistic abilities of some of them.[61] Even the higher-ranked interpreters with better language skills had to work without the aid of adequate dictionaries for much of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The first to be compiled was *Halma Translated* (*Haruma wage*, 1796), and initially only thirty copies of this text were printed. *Halma Translated* was based on François Halma's *Dictionary of the Netherlands and French Languages* (*Woordenboek der Nederduitsche en Fransche Taalen*, 1708), and was compiled by a team

55 Goodman 2000, pp. 37–41; Itazawa 1959, pp. 29–30. The Portuguese had been known as *nanban* 南蛮 ('southern barbarians'). The lighter northern European hair colours prompted the new name.

56 On Genshō's investigations of Western medicine, see Michel 2010.

57 Mester 1956, pp. 147–48.

58 Sugimoto 1983, p. 24.

59 One difficulty is that the place of interpreters in the established scholarly narrative is a peripheral one: it is therefore difficult to properly assess, without a lengthy investigation, whether the lack of primary materials relating to the interpreters reflects the realities of what existed in the first place, the realities of what has survived, or the lack of scholarly interest in discovering such materials. Sugimoto 1990b, pp. 27–32 offers an insight into some of the known primary sources.

60 Even while acknowledging the abilities of certain interpreters, scholars tend to emphasize their overall failings as a group, e.g.: 'Their abilities, of course, varied from man to man, but on the whole their achievements were not impressive' (Keene 1969, p. 11). For further discussion, see Honma 2008 and Sugimoto 1990b, who refute the accepted view.

61 Goodman 2000, p. 34.

lead by Inamura Sampaku (1758–1811) in Edo. Another version, *Doeff's Halma* (*Dōfu Haruma*, 1816), was begun in Nagasaki by a team of interpreters under the direction of the Dutch head of mission (*Opperhoofd*) Hendrik Doeff (1777–1835). After Doeff's departure in 1817, at the behest of the Japanese authorities the interpreters continued to make corrections and additions, and finally completed the work in 1833. No original manuscripts of this dictionary have survived, but abbreviated versions of it were later printed. These two dictionaries were also known as *Edo Haruma* 江戸ハルマ ('the Edo Halma') and *Nagasaki Haruma* 長崎ハルマ ('the Nagasaki Halma'), respectively. The fact that they existed in manuscript or had only short print runs meant they were inaccessible to most people.[62]

However, despite the difficulties, some of the earliest translations from Dutch-language works were made by Nagasaki interpreters, such as the *Doeff's Halma* dictionary and the works of surgery derived from Ambroise Paré's *On Surgery* via the medium of a Dutch translation. Furthermore, when the shogunate began employing translators in its Bureau of Astronomy (*Tenmondai* 天文台) in the early decades of the nineteenth century, some of the appointees were former interpreters, such as Baba Teiyū (1787–1822).[63]

Teiyū was one of the most famous of all Nagasaki interpreters. Born into a merchant family and adopted by his interpreter uncle, Teiyū proved to be particularly adept at languages, learning not only Dutch, but also French from the head of the Dutch mission, Hendrik Doeff, and English from another mission chief, Jan Cock Blomhoff (1779–1853).[64] Subsequently, Teiyū was summoned to Edo to work as a translator for the shogunal Bureau of Astronomy in 1808. The Office for the Translation of Barbarian Books (*Bansho wage goyō* 蛮書和解御用) was established within the Bureau in 1811 and Teiyū was seconded to this, working on numerous translation projects (the most well known of which is *A New Compendium for Health* (*Kōsei shinpen*), a translation from Noël Chomel's *The Family Dictionary* (*Dictionnaire oeconomique*, first published in 1709)), and teaching Dutch to scholars at the Bureau of Astronomy. He also continued to act as an interpreter when necessary and was dispatched as linguist and envoy when the British ship 'The Brothers' entered Uraga Bay in 1818.[65]

62 On both the Japanese Halma dictionaries, see De Groot 2005, pp. 84–93; and on *Doeff's Halma* in particular, see Matsuda 1998, pp. 53–101.

63 Note also that the interpreters were involved in translating the yearly reports (*fūsetsugaki*) sent by the Dutch in Deshima to the shogunate. On the system of yearly reports, see Matsukata 2007. For an analysis of how the translation was done, see Katagiri 2006, pp. 291–305.

64 Katagiri 1985, p. 54.

65 Nihonshi Daijiten Henshū Iinkai 2010.

The updated version of the most comprehensive bibliography of pre-modern and early modern works in the Japanese language lists forty-eight works under Teiyū's name, most of which are translations in manuscript form.[66] These were based, in the main, on Dutch-language sources, but several are translations from Russian, including *The Secret to Avoiding Smallpox* (*Tonka hiketsu*, 1820) and *Rules of Russian Grammar* (*Rogo bunpō kiban*, undated manuscript).[67] Teiyū had taken rudimentary lessons in Russian from Daikokuya Kōdayū (1751–1828), a Japanese castaway who had returned from Russia.[68] Teiyū was later ordered by the shogunate to learn Russian from the naval officer and explorer Vasilii Mikhailovich Golovnin (1776–1831) during Golovnin's imprisonment in Japan (1811–13), and translated *Rules of Russian Grammar* from notes made by Golovnin.[69] Teiyū's extraordinary translational abilities ensured him a successful career as a government official. In 1811 he was awarded samurai rank (*shi* 士).[70]

Indeed, linguistically skilled interpreters were involved in the study of Dutch as both private and government-sponsored scholars, and in intellectual exchanges with scholars as well.[71] Interpreters who became interested in Western medicine and technology collected books and bought or received medicines and instruments. Since interpreter posts were kept within families over many generations, these collections often grew to include large numbers of prints, manuscripts, and instruments. The upper floor of interpreter Yoshio Kōgyū's (1724–1800) house, known as 'The Dutch Salon' (*Oranda zashiki* 和蘭座敷), was famous among scholars throughout the country, together with his garden of foreign plants and his 'Dutch New Year' festivities. From the late seventeenth century, interpreters such as Nishi Genpo (?–1684), Narabayashi Chinzan (1649–1711), and Motoki Ryōi gained a reputation for their expertise in linguistic, surgical, pharmaceutical, and geographical matters.[72]

As the reputation of the interpreters spread, so did intellectual exchange between interpreters and scholars from all over Japan who were interested

66 *Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku*.

67 *The Secret to Avoiding Smallpox* was translated from a Russian work based on Jenner's theories of inoculation, and *Rules of Russian Grammar* was translated from notes made for Teiyū by Golovnin (Katagiri 1985, p. 363).

68 On Kodayū, see Hesselink 1995.

69 Katagiri 1985, pp. 361–4. On the translation process, see also Hirano 1993.

70 Sugimoto 1976–82, vol. IV, p. 163. See also Sugimoto 1998, pp. 32–3.

71 Katagiri has detailed the contribution made by the interpreters to Edo-based Dutch studies during the periods when the Dutch mission was in Edo to pay their respects to the shogun (1985, pp. 184–207). However, their contribution was broader than just these occasions.

72 Michel 2007b.

in Dutch learning. Edo-based scholars of Dutch usually went to Nagasaki to study for a time with the interpreters there, as did scholars from other regions.[73] Ōtsuki Gentaku (1757–1827), Tsuboi Shindō (1795–1848), Itō Genboku (1800–71), Takano Chōei (1804–50), Ogata Kōan (1810–63), and later, Fukuzawa Yukichi (1835–1901), to name but a few of the most famous, all spent time in Nagasaki as part of their studies.[74] When Takano Chōei, whose life is discussed as a case study below, went to Nagasaki to study with Philipp Franz von Siebold (1796–1866), he did so at the recommendation of the Imamura family of interpreters who also accommodated him at their house when he arrived.[75]

### Upwardly mobile young men

Dutch translators came from other backgrounds as well. Koseki San'ei (1787–1839) demonstrates another path which a student of Dutch might follow, progressing from peasant (*nōmin* 農民) origins to an official position by way of daimyo and later shogunal patronage.[76] Born the second son of a farming family from Tsuruoka in Dewa province (now in Yamagata Prefecture), San'ei went to Edo in 1804 to study Dutch with Yoshida Chōshuku (1779–1824), the same teacher as the famous Takano Chōei whose life is discussed below, before returning to Tsuruoka three years later to practise as a doctor of Dutch medicine.[77] After a period spent as a teacher of Dutch medicine at the Sendai domain medical academy (1822–3), followed by further study in Edo, in 1832 San'ei became the physician to the lord of the Kishiwada domain in Izumi Province (located in modern-day Osaka Prefecture).

It was while working for the Kishiwada domain that San'ei produced a translation, *Anthology of Western Internal Medicine* (*Taisei naika shūsei*, 1832), and published a printed edition of his *Abbreviated Account of the Basic Illnesses in Western Medicine* (*Seii genbyōryaku*, 1832). *Abbreviated Account of the Basic Illnesses* was based on a Dutch translation of G. W. Consbruch's *Clinical Pocketbook* (*Klinisches Taschenbuch*), and a Dutch translation of C. W. Hufeland's *Pathology* (*Pathologie*).[78] It was Koseki's

[73] See Sugimoto 1976–82, vol. IV, and Hiramatsu 1999.
[74] Watanabe 1952, p. 8.
[75] Satō 1993, pp. 148–9.
[76] For a discussion of the pronunciation of Koseki's name (given as Ozeki in *Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku*, but probably incorrect), see Sugimoto 1976–82, vol. IV, p. 805.
[77] He is known to have spent the years 1814–22 in Edo, this time studying Chinese, *kangaku* 漢学, although this part of his life is not well documented (Sugimoto 1976–1982, vol. IV, p. 807).
[78] Alternative title *Gakugo ryakusetsu* 学語略説 (Brief explanation of scholarly language), Matsuda 2000; Miyasita 1975, p. 38.

only translation to appear in print during his lifetime, and although the publisher is unknown, it is probably no coincidence that he was able to publish during the year he spent under the patronage of the lord of Kishiwada.

San'ei was also the author of *A Biography of Napoleon* (*Naporeon den*, printed posthumously, 1857), *An Account of the Battles of Bonaparte* (*Bonaparuto senki*, date unknown), and *The Cultivation of Man* (*Chūjinsho*, date unknown), a work of natural science grounded in a Christian worldview. A letter from San'ei to a relative in the seventh month of 1832 offers an insight into the background to his work on *Biography of Napoleon*, which was a translation of the Dutch *The Life of Bonaparte* (*Het Leven van Bonaparte*, 1801), itself a translation of an as yet unidentified French work. San'ei writes that since his lord was away he had free time to concentrate on his studies and to begin translating *A Biography of Napoleon*. Thus it would seem that San'ei's translation activities were an adjunct to his main occupation as domain physician, but that the position afforded him the opportunity to undertake translations that interested him. Sugimoto Tsutomu suggests that San'ei decided to translate *The Life of Bonaparte* out of personal curiosity, but notes that his translation was also most likely influenced by growing Japanese interest in Napoleon at this time.[79]

*The Cultivation of Man*, a translation of the Dutch *A Reading Book for the People, and a Handbook for the Teacher* (*Volkslees, of Onderwijzers Handboek*, 1707), was probably commissioned by the scholar Watanabe Kazan (1793–1841). Although Kazan was interested in Western studies, he could not read the originals himself. He would invite San'ei and Takano Chōei to his house and have them read and translate Western texts for him.[80] The extant copy of *The Cultivation of Man* (a manuscript) bears his seal, and some of his later works include details which most likely came from San'ei's translation. This kind of private commission was an alternative source of income and support which could be gained from translation.

After he had established a reputation as a scholar, physician, and translator, San'ei was appointed as a translation assistant (*hon'yaku gakari* 翻訳掛) at the shogunate Bureau of Astronomy in 1833 and two years later was promoted to gentleman of the Dutch translation office (*Ransho hon'yaku kata* 蘭書翻訳方). During his time at the Bureau of Astronomy, he participated in the translation of Chomel's encyclopaedia, and the translation of one of the first English vocabularies in Japan.[81] San'ei's

79 Sugimoto 1976–82, vol. IV, p. 810.
80 Satō 1993, p. 200. For an account of San'ei's translation and its relation to Kazan's work, see pp. 199–267.
81 Sugimoto 1976–82, vol. IV, p. 814.

career, like Teiyū's, demonstrates how talented men could rise to become doctors, domain officials, and shogunal employees on the basis of their Dutch knowledge and translation skills, regardless of their origins. Other scholars who followed a path similar to San'ei include Udagawa Genshin (1769–1834) and Ogata Kōan.[82]

## Independent scholars

Takano Chōei (1804–50) is an example of the independent scholar of samurai origins for whom the knowledge and reputation to be gained from the study and translation of Dutch texts formed an integral part of his career and finances.[83] Born into a family of middle-ranking samurai, Chōei was adopted by his maternal uncle, who came from a family of doctors serving the lords of the Sendai domain. Turning his back on a life of provincial medicine, Chōei went to Edo aged 16 to study Dutch. He spent the remainder of his life in the pursuit of Western learning and the money which would allow him to do so. From the numerous letters Chōei wrote to his adoptive father and other relatives, it is possible to piece together the role which translation played in his financial and professional life.

At the age of 20, by which time he had already been studying Dutch in Edo for three years, Chōei wrote a letter to his adoptive father requesting money for the purchase of a handwritten copy of Fujibayashi Fuzan's *The Keys to Translation* (*Yakken*, printed 1810) to help with his translation of Dutch texts. *The Keys to Translation* is an abbreviated version of one of the earliest Dutch–Japanese dictionaries, *Halma Translated* (*Haruma wage*, 1796). From this purchase it is fair to assume that he was already attempting some translations, most likely for the purposes of private study.[84] The following year he wrote to his uncle about how he had been concentrating on the translation of Dutch texts since the previous year and that he was hoping to make a name for himself by writing a scholarly preface or a translation. He also wrote that should a translation of his come out in time he would not have to ask his father to pay his tuition fees.[85] This suggests that for Chōei, translation was both a path to scholarly recognition, and a means of supplementing his income,

82 Rubinger 1982, p. 130.
83 For a discussion of samurai scholars of Dutch and the particular fields of Western learning they engaged in, see Bartholomew 1976.
84 Letter from Chōei to his adoptive father Gensai 玄斎 dated spring of 1823. Takano Chōei kinenkan, 1991, pp. 20–1.
85 Letter from Chōei to his uncle, dated 11th of 5th month of Bunsei 6 (1823). Takano Chōei Kinenkan 1991, pp. 26–7.

although it is not clear from his letter exactly how such a translation would generate income.[86]

Later, when Chōei had begun to establish his reputation as a scholar and was studying in Nagasaki at Philipp Franz von Siebold's Narutaki Academy (*Narutakijuku* 鳴滝塾), he wrote to his long-suffering adoptive father to request permission to stay another year; of his finances Chōei wrote:

> At the moment I am translating daily for Matsubara Kenboku (松原見朴), and so he supplies the money for my meals. A man of wealth, Kumatani Gorōzaemon 熊谷五郎左ェ門 from Chōshū . . . is currently staying in Nagasaki. He has long been interested in Dutch studies, and so I am making [him] a translation of a work of longevity (*yōjōron* 養生論). From him I receive small payments in instalment. In addition to this, I am also rewriting Japanese into Dutch for Siebold, and for this I receive small payments by instalment to help with my sundry expenses. For the first time during my stay I am not in difficulties over meals and sundry expenses and don't have to worry about anything other than concentrating on my studies.[87]

Matsubara Kenboku was the name adopted by one Yamada Daien (1765–1831), a doctor who had disappeared from Edo without paying his debts to a pharmacist formerly from Chōei's hometown. This pharmacist wrote to Chōei with the news that Daien was now the guest of the daimyo of the Hirado domain; he sent the loan documents to Chōei and told him to collect the money and use it to pay his school fees. Upon arrival in Hirado, Chōei discovered that Daien did not have the money and was offered the opportunity to translate the numerous Dutch books in the lord's collection by way of compensation. He moved from where he had been living at Siebold's academy to the Nagasaki mansion of the daimyo of the Hirado domain, and received food and board in return for his translations.[88] The reference to a work of longevity translated under the patronage of Kumatani Gorōzaemon (dates unknown), is most likely *Record of Dutch Theories on Prolonging Life* (*Ransetsu yōjōroku*, 1827) which Chōei translated together with Oka Kenkai.[89]

[86] This may have been in the form of a commission or employment based on his now proven abilities. Many students of Dutch needed to supplement their income. Ogata Kōan had to work as a janitor and masseur (Rubinger 1982, pp. 128–9). Most were able to offset their fees by copying Dutch books (Rubinger 1982, pp. 135–6).

[87] Letter from Chōei to his adoptive father dated 15th of 1st month Bunsei 10 (1827). Takano Chōei Kinenkan 1991, pp. 106–7.

[88] Satō 1993, pp. 152–4.

[89] Takano 1930, p. 516. The Dutch source text usually given for this translation, *The Art of Prolonging Human Life* (*Kunst om het Menschelijk leven Te verlengen*, Amsterdam 1799), itself a translation of C. W. Hufeland's *The Art of Prolonging Human Life* (*Kunst das menschliche Leben zu Verlängern*, 1796) is most likely incorrect. The contents of this work (Hufeland 1799) do not match Chōei and Oka's translation.

In addition to these arrangements, Chōei also received income from his connection with Siebold. Before moving to the Hirado domain mansion in Nagasaki, he was one of the poor but talented students whom Siebold allowed to reside in the academy in return for help with his research and at the school.[90] The students at Siebold's academy wrote articles in Dutch as part of their studies, which Siebold then made use of in his own research. He also had talented pupils such as Chōei translate texts on commission, and it is to this which Chōei refers in the quotation above. Of the forty-two extant articles by Japanese students in the Siebold collection in Europe, eleven were written by Chōei. This is more than twice as many as the next prolific translator, Mima Junzō (1795–1825), who authored five; most students usually only contributed one, the 'graduation thesis' which was the culmination of their studies at the Naritaki Academy.[91] With the exception of official documents translated into Dutch by the Nagasaki interpreters, this kind of written translation from Japanese into a European language during the early modern period was rare. In addition to providing Chōei with a source of income, his translations into Dutch were also a form of intellectual capital, offering the opportunity for Chōei to improve his Dutch language abilities under Siebold's instruction,[92] and to obtain medical and scientific knowledge from him. This knowledge later enabled Chōei to earn his living as a doctor in Edo and to open his own academy there.

This combination of intellectual exchange for financial benefit may be observed in other professional relationships throughout Chōei's life. Ellen Gardner-Nakamura describes the relationship between Chōei and Fukuda Sōtei (Kōsai) (1791–1840), a wealthy rural physician from the Kōzuke area. With Chōei's help, Sōtei studied a Dutch textbook on surgery by David von Geshez. The first forty-seven chapters were copied and translated in Chōei's hand, the later chapters were copied in Chōei's hand but translated by Sōtei and sent to Chōei for approval. In return for these lessons, Sōtei helped Chōei financially, in particular with the publication of his first work to appear in print, chapter 1 of *Fundamentals of [Western] Medicine* (*Igen sūyō*, 1832). In addition, he helped Chōei in 1838 with the reconstruction of his house after it was damaged by fire.[93] Other doctors in Kōzuke province also helped Chōei, who afterwards came to Kōzuke to lecture on *Fundamentals of [Western] Medicine*, probably in return for the assistance he had received.[94] The much neglected study of Dutch studies in the provinces has been somewhat redressed by the work of Aoki Toshiyuki and Tasaki Tetsurō, and the scholarly network

[90] Satō 1993, p. 151. [91] Tsurumi 2007, pp. 124–5. [92] Satō 1993, p. 155.
[93] Nakamura 2005, pp. 86–9. [94] Nakamura 2005, p. 84.

linking Takano Chōei with the physicians of the Kōzuke area confirms that Dutch studies was far from Edo-centric.[95]

Even after Chōei became one of the casualties of the 1839 'Gaoling of the Barbarian Studies Society' incident, translation continued to play a role in his life. In 1843, the fifth year of his incarceration, he wrote that he hoped to obtain his release in exchange for putting his skills to work for the shogunate as an official translator (*wagekata* 和解方), or as a doctor to the vagrants' prison (*yoseba* 寄場).[96] If he did make such petitions, they were unsuccessful. Following his escape from prison, however, these skills were vital to his survival. Between 1848 and 1849 he lived under the protection of Date Munenari (1818–92), Lord of Uwajima domain on Shikoku. With news of the Opium War spreading, many daimyo were concerned about boosting their defences, and Munenari wanted to use Chōei's translation skills to study Western defence techniques.[97] Chōei eventually returned to Edo where he briefly practised medicine under an assumed name, before being caught. He died during his arrest; whether it was suicide or death at the hands of his captors remains unknown.[98]

## Translation strategies

For the scholars considered above, translation in one form or other was an important part of their intellectual and financial lives, but exactly what sort of translation was practised by such scholars? The lexical works for the study of Dutch evolved from simple glossaries to sophisticated dictionaries and studies of grammar, but these developments were by no means uniform since Dutch was studied in Japan by different groups – from hereditary interpreters, to private scholars, and Edo-based shogunate employees – not all of whom had the same needs or skills.[99] However, in *A Guide to Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kaitei*, 1783), Ōtsuki Gentaku gives advice to beginners and offers an insight into how some, at least, went about translating Dutch texts, and his well-known work is characteristic of Dutch studies in Japan at the end of the eighteenth century.[100] Gentaku studied medicine under the Ichinoseki domain medic Tatebe Seian (1712–82) and was a pupil of the influential scholars

[95] Tasaki 1985; Tasaki 1992; Aoki 1998. [96] Takano Chōei Kinenkan 1991, p. 204.
[97] Satō 1980, pp. 446–7. For an account of Chōei's translation activities in Uwajima, see 446–84.
[98] On the life of Takano Chōei, see Nakamura 2005, pp. 30–45.
[99] De Groot 2005, p. 46. On developments in glossaries and dictionaries, see De Groot 2005, pp. 46–98, and on developments in script and grammars, see pp. 99–226.
[100] There are two modern reprints of this work: Ōtsuki 1913 and Ōtsuki 2009. De Groot, 2005, pp. 125–8, questions Gentaku's language abilities and the traditional

Sugita Genpaku and Maeno Ryōtaku. After a period of study in Nagasaki, he became an Edo-based medic for the Sendai domain and in 1786 opened the first private academy for the study of Dutch, the Shirandō 芝蘭堂 in Kyōbashi. *A Guide to Dutch Studies* was finished in 1783 and circulated in manuscript before being published in print five years later.

Following an introduction to the history of Dutch studies, Gentaku explains various aspects of the Dutch language (letters, numbers, spelling, pronunciation, etc.), before recommending particular study methods and translation strategies. His instructions on translation are divided into two stages: after mastering the art of reading (i.e., pronouncing) Dutch texts aloud, the student may begin to understand their contents first by translating individual words, and from there moving on to translating entire sentences. He advises affixing these word and sentence-level translations as glosses (*kun'yaku* 訓訳).[101]

Once glosses have been affixed to each word, Gentaku continues, the beginner may progress to translating – that is to say, understanding – entire sentences. He explains the approach by reference to the Japanese encounter with literary Sinitic:

> Now, once you have finished affixing translations at a word level, you should discuss the meaning of entire sentences with your teacher. Your teacher will explain this in great detail; however, the syntax (*goji* 語路) is not the same as that you have encountered hitherto in the Chinese books you are used to reading and so in the initial stages of learning it will be difficult to understand with ease. Comprehension will come to you as a matter of course after you have opened up the complete text equipped with the *kun'yaku* glosses in which you have been instructed, shut yourself up in school, read the texts [aloud] innumerable times, and can recite them by heart. Although you will have affixed a translation to each word, unless you reverse the word order to read and understand the way one makes a Japanese reading of a Chinese text then you will not grasp the meaning.[102]

For the beginner, translation is thus a reading strategy, as well as a method for learning Dutch: by affixing '*kun'yaku*' glosses (the term is related to *kundoku* glosses used on Chinese texts) to the Dutch words the process of understanding the meaning of the text at hand and eventually the Dutch language itself begins.[103] This idea of translation as reading or interpretation is to be found in the work of other scholars: for example, Maeno Ryōtaku's *The Keys to Dutch Translation* (*Oranda yakusen*, 1785) also

characterization of him as an expert linguist and translator, suggesting that Gentaku's own abilities probably did not extend much beyond the advice to students contained in his *Guide to Dutch Studies*.

101 Ōtsuki 1913, pp. 236–7. 102 Ōtsuki 1913, p. 237.

103 On the early use of *kundoku* methods for dealing with Dutch texts, see Sugimoto 1983, pp. 43–4.

focuses on teaching the basics of Dutch morphography, grammar, etc. Translation is thus one of the available strategies for dealing with Dutch texts, and a method that must be mastered. Gentaku's *A Guide to Dutch Studies* was aimed at beginners for whom, in the absence of the more sophisticated grammars and dictionaries that later characterized Dutch studies under the influence of Shizuki Tadao, translation was an important means of getting to grips with the Dutch language.[104] Once the reader is more advanced, Gentaku advocates reading Dutch in its original word order in the same way he knows some people (i.e., Sorai and his associates) read Chinese texts according to vernacular Chinese pronunciation and syntax.

Like Sorai, Gentaku ultimately advocated direct reading as a better way to grasp the full meaning of a text, and recognized the limitations of *kundoku*-style word-for-word translation:

> By their very nature, these languages from far away (*kanata no genji* 彼方の言辞) are different and distant, and so if you read Dutch by turning every word of it into Japanese or Chinese you in fact lose much of the meaning. Rather you should translate [*hon'yaku*] it in a broad sense, and keep the gist of this translation in mind when you come to a particularly difficult part. This is the greatest rule.[105]

Unlike literary Sinitic, which for centuries was 'translated' in Japan by means of a highly bound *kundoku* reading, translation into Japanese, or occasionally literary Sinitic, was part of Dutch studies from the very beginning. This was no doubt due in part to the fact that Dutch texts did not occupy a prominent place in Japanese education, and the texts themselves did not carry the same kind of cultural weight as the Sinitic classics. The value of Dutch texts lay primarily in their informative content and this was mined by means of translation. The Tokugawa period also saw a change in attitudes towards other languages – that is to say, a recognition of their distance from Japanese, the need to read them as they were written, and then translate into some form of Japanese – most notably in Sorai's theories. Gentaku's comments suggest that these changes may also account for why translation was part of Dutch studies from its earliest beginnings; and why attempts to use *kundoku* methods for Dutch did not become the main means for understanding the language as they had done with Chinese.[106]

104 On Shizuki Tadao's influence on Japanese understandings of the Dutch language, see De Groot 2008. On his importance to Dutch Studies, see Boot 2008a.
105 Ōtsuki 1913, p. 237.
106 On the early use of *kundoku* methods for dealing with Dutch texts, see Sugimoto 1983, pp. 43–4.

While Gentaku's instructions were aimed at beginners, translation theory written with more advanced scholars in mind was already beginning to consider what might be termed 'philosophies of translation'. For example, the translators' preface to *A New Treatise on Anatomy* contains a discussion of different types of translation (*yaku*) as it applied to rendering Dutch terms in Sinitic:

There are three grades of translation (*yaku* 訳): the first is called 'equivalent translation' (*hon'yaku* 翻訳), the second is called 'translation of meaning' (*giyaku* 義訳) and the third is 'direct translation' (*chokuyaku* 直訳). Those things which the Dutch call *benderen* [i.e., *beenderen*] are bones (*hone*/*kotsu* 骨), that is to say the translation is '*hone*/*kotsu* 骨'. This is equivalent translation. Again, that which the Dutch call *karakaben* [i.e., *kraakbeen*, Eng.: cartilage] refers to a type of bone that is soft: *karaka* refers to the sound of a rat gnawing and so the meaning is 'soft *ben*', *ben* being an abbreviation for *benderen*. In other words, the translation is 'soft bones' (*nankotsu* 軟骨). This is translation of meaning. Then there is *kiriiru* [i.e., *klier*, Eng.: gland] for which we have no equivalent. As there is no meaning that can be inferred [from the Dutch etymology], the translation is '*kiriiru* 機里爾'. This is direct translation.[107]

In other words, if there is a Japanese or Sinitic equivalent to the Dutch word, then this is used. If there is no equivalent term, then one may be coined by using the Dutch etymology. If there is no equivalent term and the Dutch etymology is obscure, a new word may be coined by transliterating the sounds of the Dutch term using Sinitic characters. *Hon'yaku*, the modern Japanese word meaning 'translation', is simply one variety among many, and the broader concept is denoted by *yaku*. In fact, this is still the case in modern Japanese, where, despite the prominence dictionaries give to *hon'yaku*, *yaku* forms the basis for a long list of words denoting different types of translated works – *zen'yaku* 全訳 ('complete translation'), *kaiyaku* 改訳 ('retranslation'), *chōyaku* 重訳 ('translation of a translation'), etc. – as well as different approaches to translation – *chokuyaku* 直訳 ('direct translation' as above), *iyaku* 意訳 ('sense translation') and *chikugoyaku* 逐語訳 ('word for word translation') to name a few.[108] Many of the methods described in *A New Treatise* were later resorted to by translators in the Meiji period who, like the Tokugawa translators, found themselves faced with new concepts based in European historical contingencies, such as 'rights' and 'society', which they then had to find ways of rendering intelligible to a Japanese audience.[109]

[107] Sugita 1774, vol. I, 12r. [108] Emmerich 2009.
[109] Yanabu 1982; Howland 2002. For more information on the translation theories of scholars of Dutch, see Sugimoto 1991, pp. 376–84.

The theorists above were describing translation at the level of the word or the sentence, but at the level of the text, what kinds of works resulted from such practices and how were they conceived? Though some are close transpositions, such as *A Translation and Explanation of Electricity* (*Werekiteru yakusetsu*, undated manuscript), during the period numerous works were loosely based on translated extracts from Dutch-language sources, such as *Venerable Transmissions About External Medicine* (*Geka sōden*, 1706); others were compiled by non-readers of Dutch relying on the translation abilities of interpreters and scholars who had learned Dutch, such as Arai Hakuseki's *Various Sights and Strange words*, discussed below.

Indeed, 'translation' broadly defined, was denoted by numerous terms within Dutch studies, most commonly: *hon'yaku* 翻訳, *shōyaku* 抄訳, *wage* 和解, *yakkai* 訳解, *yaku* 訳, *yakujutsu* 訳述, and *yakusetsu* 訳説, often used interchangeably. Many of these terms denote a combination of 'translation' as a transfer of texts between different languages and 'translation' more generally as interpretation, in particular terms like *yakkai* 訳解 (translative interpretation), *yakujutsu* 訳述 (translation with elaboration), and *yakusetsu* 訳説 (translation with explanation). In practice, it is often difficult to draw the line between those works which are a 'translation' in the sense of standing in a one-to-one relationship with a source text, and those works which are 'translations' in that they quote or draw upon a variety of scholarly texts which happen to be in a different language. The latter case closely resembles what scholars do with texts in their own language, recalling Andre Lefevere's argument that the notion of an 'original' in any sense is problematic since all texts draw upon preceding works in the scholarly or literary tradition to which they belong.[110]

The difficulty of distinguishing between translation and scholarship or authorship more generally means that any list of Dutch 'translations' will be blurred at the edges. The number of works it includes will depend on where the compiler draws the line. A Tokugawa example of such a list, *List of Translations with Elaboration by Scholars of Western Studies* (*Seiyōgakka yakujutsu mokuroku*, 1852) does not attempt to make a clear distinction between 'translation' and scholarship more generally.[111] The compiler, Suitei (dates unknown) used the term *yakujutsu* 訳述 (translation with elaboration) to denote the kind of works included and arranged his records by author rather than source- or target-language text. His list thus shows a consciousness of the scholarly efforts of the Dutch studies scholars listed rather than the act of translation itself.[112]

110 Lefevere 1984, p. 236. 111 Suitei 1913.

112 The other contemporary list of translations, *Index of Translated Dutch Books* (*Oranda hon'yakusho mokuroku*) catalogued by the Kyoto bookseller Yoshida Jihei in 1841,

The loose and varied terminology used to denote 'translation', and the sense of a strong link between 'translation' and scholarship suggested by these terms and by Suitei's list, indicate that, within Dutch studies, translation was not so much an end in itself or a fixed process by which texts were replicated in the target language, but rather was one of a number of strategies available to scholars. The same is suggested by comments in the prefaces to some translations from Dutch. For example, the famous scholar Maeno Ryōtaku wrote in his prefatory remarks to *Investigation of Star-gazing* (*Shichiyō chokujitsukō*, date unknown) that he had written the work by 'extracting the main gist [of an unidentified Dutch book], translating this, and also elaborating upon it with my own shallow knowledge'.[113]

In addition to the difficulties of defining translation in Dutch studies, the full number is yet to be catalogued according to any definition and many are known by their title alone. However, some broad trends may be observed. The first is to note that although literary Sinitic was the language of choice for some of the earlier works, particularly medical translations, there seems to have been a gradual shift towards using Japanese written in Sinitic characters and square-form kana. For example, the first two volumes of *New Writings on Calendrical Phenomena*, discussed earlier, were written in literary Sinitic, but in the last volume and in the final version of the entire work, Shizuki wrote in a combination of square-form kana and Sinitic characters.[114] In the prefatory remarks Shizuki described himself as 'for the moment but a tongue man' who explained the gist of the source for those who might find it hard to understand.[115] The morphic loanword *setsujin* 舌人 or 'tongue man' came from China, where it was one of a number of terms used to describe the official interpreters who spoke one or more languages of the 'barbarian tribes' on the periphery of Chinese influence – not a position of great respect at the time, and one which relied upon spoken language not the language of scholarship. Allowing for the conventional modesty required in prefaces, Shizuki's comments demonstrate that his work was intended as a simpler explanation of the work's contents, hence the choice of target language.

organizes its entries by title, and uses the word *hon'yaku* (Yoshida 1841). As a bookseller, it would make sense for Yoshida to catalogue the entries by title, whereas Suitei, in the prefatory remarks to his catalogue, establishes that he is a scholar, and these works listed are ones which he has 'lying around' or has seen at his friend's house, hence the scholarly *yakujutsu* focus.

113 '*Sono yōryō o shōshite katsu senshiki o nobete*' 其要領ヲ抄シテコレヲ訳シ且浅識ヲ述テ (Maeno (n.d.), 1r).

114 Montgomery 2000, p. 230.

115 '*Ittō no setsujin narishi nomi*' 一当ノ舌人也シノミ (Shizuki (n.d.), vol. I, 2v–3r).

In contrast, the early work of anatomy that became central to the narrative of the 'beginnings' of Dutch studies, *A New Treatise on Anatomy*, was a scholarly publication written in literary Sinitic and as the remarks on translation from its preface show, careful attention was paid to the process of translation. In fact, an entire book – *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* – was written about it afterwards. This was not the work of scholars who thought of themselves as lowly tongue men, and their choice of literary Sinitic, the authoritative language of medical writing in Japan, confirms this. However, as Timon Screech points out, although the writers of *A New Treatise on Anatomy* claimed it was intended for a general audience, their contemporary, Shiba Kōkan, criticized the use of literary Sinitic as 'simply too difficult to comprehend'.[116] In *Falsehoods of Solitary Musing* (*Dokushō bōgen*, 1810), Shiba provided a simple explanation of sections of *A New Treatise on Anatomy*, written in Japanese using cursive kana and Sinitic characters.[117] Elsewhere he described the use of literary Sinitic as 'a plot to frighten the illiterate' (*monmōnaru mono o odosu tabakarigoto nari* 文盲なる者ををどす謀事なり).[118] However, Kōkan evidently did not object to writing in literary Sinitic *per se*, but thought that works claiming to be for a generalist audience or for beginners ought not to be written solely in that language. In the aforementioned *Falsehoods of Solitary Musing*, Shiba included two prefaces – the first, in literary Sinitic and the second a translation in square-form kana and Sinitc characters.

### *Translating in extract*

In addition to the broad trend towards translating into Japanese registers rather than Sinitic, it is possible to delineate several distinct approaches to translation. A particularly common method was to use translation to mine a source text or texts for the material with which to create a new work of scholarship. This was the approach adopted by Udagawa Yōan in his *Richerand's Study of the Human Body* (*Riserando jinshin kyūrisho*, date unknown). Extant only in manuscript form, it is a translation of sections of *New Principles of the Physics of Man* (*Niewe Grondbeginselen der Natuurkunde van den Mensch)*, a Dutch translation from an unidentified edition of Anthelme Richerand's *New Elements of Physiology* (*Nouveaux éléments de physiologi*e).[119] This manuscript, written in Yōan's own hand in

[116] Screech 2001, pp. 107–8. [117] Shiba 1993a, pp. 24–8. [118] Shiba 1993b, p. 55.
[119] Miyasita 1975, p. 20 identifies *Nieuwe Grondbeginselen der Natuurkunde van den Mensch*, Amsterdam 1826, as the source. For comparison, I have only been able to access the earlier edition of this text (Erpecum van 1821).

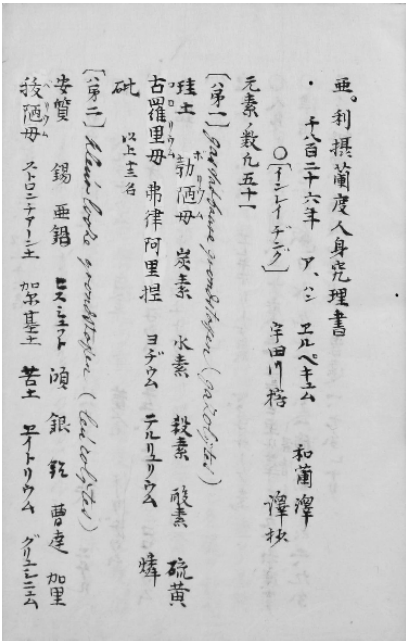


Figure 9 Manuscript in the hand of Udagawa Yōan. Udagawa Yōan, *Richerand's Study of the Human Body* (*Riserando jinshin kyūrisho*), undated, Waseda University Library

a combination of Sinitic characters and the Japanese square-form kana syllabary, begins with a series of translated extracts, including notes on language use and vocabulary in the source (Figure 9).[120] In the next volume, he goes on to translate a series of sections from the second volume of the source.[121] Rather than a word-for-word transfer, Yōan's translation takes the form of a considerably abbreviated Japanese rewriting of the Dutch source. Indeed, though the title page of this manuscript reads '*Yōan yaku*' 榕庵訳 ('translated by Yōan'), the contents page has 'Dutch translation by A van Erpecum, translated in extracts by Udagawa Yō [an]'.[122] This type of translation in which translated extracts from one or more works were used as the basis for a new work was very common

120 For example, he begins this section with a translation of note 1 p. 5 (vol. I) of the Dutch edition, an explanation of gazolytes (Udagawa (n.d.), 3r).

121 Erpecum van 1821, vol. II, p. 8; Udagawa (n.d.), 21r–57v.

122 '*A han Werupekyumu orandayaku, Udagawa Yō shōyaku*' ア・ハン・エルペキュム和蘭譯 宇田川榕抄譯 (Udagawa (n.d.), 3r).

during the period. Yōan may well have intended this manuscript, essentially a collection of notes, simply as a way of increasing his knowledge of the Dutch source texts, or he may have intended to use it as the basis for a more complete work. Innumerable works by other scholars of Dutch were written using translated extracts from Dutch texts, as was the case with Maeno Ryōtaku's *Investigation of Star-gazing*, mentioned above.[123]

### *Large-scale close translation*

There were, however, works of translation corresponding more closely to the modern idea of translation as transference of 'the original, the whole original, and nothing but the original'.[124] Perhaps the best-known example of such a work is *Discourse on a Closed Country* (*Sakokuron*, 1801), Shizuki Tadao's translation of the sixth appendix to Engelbert Kaempfer's History of Japan (1727), which W. J. Boot describes as 'a complete and literal translation'.[125] However, there are also other, lesser-known works. One such work is *A Translation and Explanation of Electricity* by Hashimoto Sōkichi (1763–1836). This is an extract from Egbert Buys's Dutch encyclopaedia *New Complete Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (*Nieuw en Volkomen Woordenboek van Konsten en Weetenschappen*, 1769–78), 'Electricity or Firestone Power' (Electriciteit of Brandsteenkracht). In the translator's preface Sōkichi wrote:

> Herein I translate the theories of Buys, the Dutch sensei, in an attempt to increase the knowledge of many gentlemen (*shokunshi* 諸君子). I have also copied some of the technical diagrams as an aid to quickly and easily assembling these apparatuses ... I translate the original without omitting a single word. These lines may seem long-winded, but since the original is well known I am not able to abbreviate it.[126]

Sōkichi's translation does indeed follow the original very closely. The paragraphing is almost exactly the same throughout as the source text, and he has copied both of the illustrative plates contained in this section of the source (as well as adding illustrations of his own). Although in places he has left out or slightly abbreviated small sections, such as the authors and names of Western works,[127] by and large *A Translation and Explanation of Electricity* approximates the idea of 'faithful' or 'accurate' translation.

[123] For more examples, see Miyasita 1975. [124] Hermans 1985, p. 9.
[125] Boot 2008b, p. 95. On *Discourse on a Closed Country*, see also Ōshima 2009.
[126] Hashimoto 1978, p. 539.
[127] For example see p. 549 of Sōkichi's translation in comparison with p. 529 of the original, where the title of the *Physiologie* is dropped, becoming merely 'in Latin'.

However, even this example of highly proximate translation contains an element that is very different from ideas of close translation today: the translator is far from invisible. Unlike current mainstream notions of 'faithful' translation in English, in which, ideally, the translator is effaced and the voice of the source text author speaks to the target-language reader, it is Sōkichi the translator who speaks to his readers. He begins his translation with the phrase '*Buys* states that . . . ' (*Boisu ga iwaku* 「ボイス」ガ曰ク) and so places himself in the position of narrator, becoming the conduit through which a description of what Buys has written is passed on to the reader. He also includes his own commentarial-style annotations.[128] Though Sōkichi is quick to point out that he has included all the information from Buys's text, there is no attempt to make the experience of reading Sōkichi's translation identical with reading the source text. This mediation, in which the translator is ever present, is consistent with the fact that translators of Dutch were primarily scholars and that translation was one of the ways they gained professional renown. It also explains why *yakujutsu* ('translation with elaboration'), a common term for translation in Dutch studies, conflates translation with composition.

### *Translation as a research method*

The third and final text to be examined in detail here, *Investigation of Reports about the Red Barbarians*[129] (*Akaezo fūsetsu kō*, 1781–3) by Kudō Kyūkyō (1734–1800), is not, strictly speaking, a translation, but demonstrates the way translation featured as a research method in the writing of works that were concerned with Western knowledge, particularly in the earlier decades of Dutch studies when even fewer scholars had the necessary language skills to read Dutch texts. Existing in several manuscript versions, *Investigation of Reports* had a huge impact in its day, inspiring literary spin-offs and prompting the shogunate to dispatch envoys to investigate the Russian encroachment from the north of which Kyūkyō wrote.[130] The first volume deals mainly with rumours and eyewitness accounts, but the second volume is based on two Dutch sources, *Universal Geography* (*Algemeene geographie*, 1769), and *Description of Russia* (*Beschrijving van Rusland*, 1744), themselves translations

[128] e.g. '*Tei iwaku, wazokuryakushite werekiteru to ifu*' 鄭曰、和俗略シテ「ヱレキテル」ト云フ (This is what Zheng [unidentified] describes as 'simplified into vernacular Japanese as "*werekiteru*"') (Hashimoto 1978, p. 23). The editors of this printed edition, a transcription of a manuscript copy of Sōkichi's text, substituted hiragana for square-form *kana* in their transcription – a common practice among modern editors of printed editions. I have modified their transcription by redoing it in katakana.

[129] i.e., Russians.

[130] Inoue 1979, pp. 10–46.

from other European languages.[131] Kyūkyō also used Chinese-language works of Western scholarship. He refers to *Bankoku chizu tōzan no han'yaku* 万国地図唐山の反訳 ('a Chinese translation of *Maps of the World*'), which was most likely Matteo Ricci's Chinese work *Complete Geographical Map of All the Kingdoms of the World* (*Kunyu wanguo quantu*, 1602).[132]

Kyūkyō refers to *Universal Geography* and *Description of Russia* in the second volume of *Investigation of Reports*. Rather than direct translations, though, Kyūkyō has mined these works for information. He refers to 'theories' (*setsu* 説) taken from these works, for which he gives the publication date and the fact that they are 'Dutch books'.[133] Though *Investigation of Reports* does not contain close translations from either of these works, the knowledge he gained of their contents was directly as a result of translation. Kyūkyō did not read Dutch himself, and, as he writes at the end of the second volume, he obtained the information about the contents of these works by inquiring of 'learned gentlemen' (*kōgaku no shi* 鴻学の士).[134] Satō Shōsuke notes that Ōtsuki Gentaku and Katsuragawa Hoshū had borrowed *Universal Geography* from Sugita Genpaku and were reading it at the time when Kyūkyō wrote *Investigation of Reports*.[135] Gentaku and Hoshū were close friends of Kyūkyō, and Satō surmises that they translated sections for him. As for *Description of Russia*, it seems likely that the interpreter Yoshio Kōgyū owned the work and translated sections of it for Kyūkyō. Kōgyū later sold *Description of Russia*, and it ended up in the possession of Maeno Ryōtaku: further evidence that Nagasaki-based interpreters participated in the intellectual networks of scholars of Dutch, in this case by sourcing texts and providing translation assistance.[136]

The collaborative aspects of Kyūkyō's work were characteristic of many translations during the period. Not only were there works of scholarship such as *Investigation of Reports*, which relied upon the assistance and language skills of others, but many closer translations of Dutch texts into Japanese were produced by two or more translators working together. Private works of this nature include *Dutch Theories on Nurturing Life* by Oka Kenkai and Takano Chōei, the abridged translation of a Dutch work, discussed above.[137] In addition, group translation formed an important part of translation projects undertaken by scholars of the Dutch language employed by the shogunate. The best known of the large-scale projects of

131 Scholars of Dutch referred to the Dutch translation as '*Zeogarahi*', and made numerous translations from it. On the transmission and translation of *Description of Russia* in Japan, see Iwasaki 1941a, 1941b.
132 Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyōkai 1953, p. 30.
133 For example see Kudō 1943, pp. 227, 230.
134 Kudō 1943, p. 245.
135 Satō 1980, pp. 118–30.
136 Satō 1980, p. 123.
137 Takano 1930, p. 516.

this type is the aforementioned encyclopaedia, *A New Compendium of Health* (*Kōsei shinpen*), a translation of a Dutch work based upon a French work: Noël Chomel's *Family Dictionary*. The *New Compendium of Health* project spanned more than thirty years and was worked on by some of the greatest names in officially sponsored Dutch studies from the period, including Baba Teiyū, Ōtsuki Gentaku, Udagawa Yōan, Sugita Seikei (1817–59), Ōtsuki Genkan (1785–1837), Koseki San'ei, Mitsukuri Genpo (1799–1863), and Sugita Ryūkei (1786–1845). There were many other smaller-scale group translations by shogunate-sponsored translators, such as *Record of Eldik's Experiments* (*Erujikki keikensho*, date unknown), a translation from *Practical Journal of Medicine in All its Forms* (*Practisch Tijdschrift voor de Geneeskunde in al Haren Omvang*, 1822–56) by Itō Genboku, Ōtsuki Junsai (1806–62), Hayashi Dōkai (1813–95), and Aoki Kenzō (1815–70).[138]

It is important to note that Kyūkyō also used Chinese works in writing *Investigation of Reports*. He refers to a 'Chinese translation of a map of the world', which was most likely Matteo Ricci's *Complete Geographical Map of All the Kingdoms of the World* (*Kun yu wan guo quan tu*).[139] His approach, incorporating as it does elements of oral transmission, Chinese translations, and information gleaned through commissioned translation, is similar to that of Arai Hakuseki in *Various Sights and Strange Words*, discussed above. In addition to the interrogations he made of Sidotti through the interpreter Imamura Ichibei, and the Dutch atlas *Sea Atlas* (*De zee-atlas ofte water-waereld*, 1659) by Hendrick Doncker (1626–99), Hakuseki also used Ricci's *Complete Geographical Map*. Other works from this early period also relied on Chinese translations of European texts, including Nishikawa Joken's (1648–1724) pioneering *An Investigation of Trade between China and the Barbarians* (*Kai tsūshōkō* 華夷通商考, printed 1695), which drew upon *A Foreign Account for Geographers* (*Zhifang waiji*, 1623), a work by the Jesuit Giulio Aleni (1582–1649) that was based on Ricci's atlas.[140] Though these early Japanese works drew upon both Dutch- and Chinese-language sources, in the years that followed, until the closing decades of the Tokugawa period, Dutch texts formed the main focus of enquiry for those interested in the West. The permission for the import of Jesuit Chinese texts coincided with the beginning of scholarly

[138] Future investigation of these texts and the circumstances of their production is needed to ascertain whether these translations were commissioned directly by the shogunate or were done by the translators with their work colleagues in a private capacity, though research of this nature is hampered by a lack of materials and the fact that many of the translations are no longer extant.

[139] Kudō 1943, p. 226, Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyōkai 1953, p. 30.

[140] Liu 2000, p. 55.

interest in Western learning and the wave of Dutch works that entered Japan. Furthermore, the lifting of the ban in Japan coincided with a period of Jesuit persecution in Qing China, which resulted in the production of fewer Chinese-language works based on Western texts. This state of affairs continued until the years following the Opium War when the British victory opened the door for Protestant missionaries, who began producing Chinese translations and original Chinese-language works of Western learning in great numbers.[141] The Chinese translations of Western works which entered Japan at this time are discussed in the next chapter, which covers the closing decades of the Tokugawa period.

## Conclusion

The picture that emerges from this investigation of translation from Dutch is one which confirms recent scholarship questioning the narrative of Sugita Genpaku's *Beginnings of Dutch Studies* and the central role previously ascribed to Edo-based, shogunate-sponsored translation. Translators of Dutch were to be found across the country, supported financially not only by the shogunate but also by interested domain lords, by the living they made as doctors, teachers, and translators, and in many cases a combination of all these professions. Translation was key to gaining the knowledge necessary for their work. As for the Nagasaki interpreters, they played a far greater role than many historians have afforded them in the past. Not only were many of the major shogunal appointees to the offices of translation former interpreters, but so too were many important translators outside state-sponsored translation. Interpreters were also closely involved in intellectual and bibliographical exchanges with scholars who became interested in Dutch.

This study has also revealed that the types of works which were translated from Dutch were far broader than the mainstream account, which focuses on medical texts, would suggest. There was strong interest in the outside world among scholars who studied Dutch, and until the early years of the nineteenth century, works based upon Western sources dealing with European history, geography, and foreign affairs were as numerous as medical ones. Indeed, historical and geographical works continued to be produced in both manuscript and printed form throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. The works translated thus ranged from geographical/historical to medical and 'scientific', and because many Dutch texts were translations from other European languages, this Japanese

141 Liu 2000, p. 56. In English, see Liu 2009a.

intellectual community was connected, albeit on the periphery, to wider scholarly discourses in Europe.

It is also significant that the translation practices encountered during this period are for the most part considerably at variance with the notion often associated with translation in English today, of a single translator, working alone on the careful transfer of all the linguistic content from a single source text to a single target text. Translation played a key role in the financial and intellectual lives of scholars and as such was a valuable, often collaborative, scholarly strategy by which they gained linguistic skills and knowledge of Western learning, rather than primarily a matter of solitary and complete linguistic transfer of texts from one language to another, as we commonly understand translation today.

# 5 Late Tokugawa 'crisis translation'

From the first decade of the nineteenth century a series of international incidents made Japanese authorities increasingly aware of external threats to security, from skirmishes with Russian vessels (1806–7) and the Phaeton Incident of 1808, to the first Opium War (1839–42), culminating in the arrivals of US and Russian admirals Perry and Putyatin (1803–83) in 1853. Though translation in the context of private scholarship continued throughout the period, this chapter focuses on the role of translation in the official responses to these incidents and to the growing sense of threat from outside – 'crisis translation'. What were the differences between the domain and shogunate attitudes to translation, and what accounts for these differences? What kinds of works were translated during the period, and by whom? This chapter considers these questions and the significance of translation in Japan in the closing decades of the Tokugawa period.

## Shogunate-sponsored translation

### *Initial reliance on Nagasaki interpreters*

When a series of international incidents in the first decade of the nineteenth century brought home the necessity of competence in international languages other than Dutch and Chinese, it was first to the linguistic talents of their traditional advisers in such matters, the Nagasaki-based interpreter families, that shogunate officials turned. In 1804, when Russian Captain Nikolai Rezanov was refused trading rights and ordered to leave Japanese waters, he encouraged two young lieutenants, Khostov and Davydov, to take stronger measures to persuade the shogunate. This they did, carrying out a series of raids on Sakhalin and the southern Kurils in 1806 and 1807. The shogunate response was both military and scholarly. On the one hand they ordered that the north-eastern domains deploy troops to the area and that Aizu and Shirakawa domains patrol Edo bay. At the same time two interpreters of Dutch, Ishibashi Eishun

(1757–1837) and Motoki Masahide, were ordered to translate works of European ballistics.[1]

Though Eishun and Masahide's military translations were presented to the shogunate upon completion, tensions with the Russians eased a few years later in the course of negotiations for the release of a captured ship captain, Vasily Mikhailovich Golovnin. Golovnin had been taken prisoner in 1811 while exploring islands in Japan's northern waters. While negotiating for his release in 1813, the Russian governor of Irkutsk and the commander at Okhotsk sent letters to Japanese authorities expressing regrets for the earlier attacks. This calmed relations between the two countries. The focus of concern gradually shifted away from the north and there is no evidence that Eishun or Masahide's ballistics translations were used at the time. However, Masahide's was revised and printed in 1852 when concerns over foreign military threats were again high.[2]

Likewise, following the Phaeton Incident of 1808 it was to the Nagasaki interpreters that shogunate officials turned.[3] Napoleon had begun to use the resources of the Batavian Republic (1795–1806, successor to the Republic of the United Netherlands) against England, and so Royal Navy ships began to prey on Dutch commercial shipping, including vessels bound for Japan. On 4 October 1808, the English ship HMS Phaeton infiltrated Nagasaki harbour under a Dutch flag in an attempt to ambush Dutch trading ships expected there. The Japanese military defences at Nagasaki were provided by the domains on a rotating basis. At the time Saga domain was responsible, but they were undermanned and unable to resist the superior firepower of the Phaeton and were forced to give in to the captain's demand for supplies. The Phaeton left two days later, before reinforcements could arrive and when they learned that Dutch ships would not be arriving that year. The Nagasaki Magistrate in charge committed suicide. There had been numerous previous encounters with British vessels that had strayed into Japanese waters; however, the Phaeton incident convincingly demonstrated the superiority of British naval weaponry, and made shogunate officials aware of the potential usefulness of languages other than Dutch when resolving diplomatic issues.[4] At this time, a number of Nagasaki interpreters who were Dutch specialists were ordered to study English and Russian.[5]

[1] Satō 1984, pp. 16–17. [2] Motoki 1852.
[3] For details of the Phaeton Incident, see Wilson 2010. [4] Sugimoto 1985, pp. 21–2.
[5] On the origins of the study of English, see Toyoda 1969, pp. 3–168.

The order had already been given to study French a few months earlier because the shogunate had become aware of the importance of French in the Batavian Republic and in communications with Russian vessels. In 1807 a Russian ship had come to Matsumae domain carrying documents written in French. These were sent by Matsumae to Edo, where no one could be found to translate them. Shogunate officials sent the documents to Nagasaki where the Dutch head of mission (*Opperhoofd*), Hendrik Doeff (1777–1835; 1803–17), translated them into Dutch.[6]

One interpreter who took up the study of French was Motoki Masahide, who had been given the work of translating a European work of ballistics in the wake of the earlier skirmishes with Russian vessels. Masahide learnt French from the head of the Dutch trading post in Nagasaki, Hendrik Doeff, and English from Jan Cock Blomhoff (1779–1853, in Nagasaki 1809–13, later Opperhoofd 1817–24). He supervised the compilation of the first English–Japanese dictionary, as well as the first Japanese textbook for the study of French.[7] Though many Nagasaki interpreters had begun to be interested in languages other than Dutch, it was not until international events prompted the shogunate that they were ordered to study these in an official capacity and the example of Masahide shows the variety of languages to which they were exposed even in these early years of European contact.[8]

It was not only European languages that became necessary. The Phaeton incident also prompted the shogunate to order Nagasaki interpreters specializing in Chinese to learn Manchu, the language of the Qing dynasty, as one of a number of foreign languages useful in diplomacy.[9] The potential usefulness of Manchu had become apparent towards the end of the eighteenth century as Japanese authorities began to encounter documents written in Manchu through Sakhalin and the Kurils. When Rezanov arrived in 1804, the petitions for trade he submitted were written in Japanese, Russian and Manchu.[10] The Japanese text seems to have been written with the help of an uneducated Japanese castaway then living

[6] See Koga 1966, p. 106.

[7] *Great Collection of English Vocabulary* (*Angeria gorin taisei*, 1814) and *Glossary of French* (*Furansu jihan*, undated manuscript).

[8] On the growing private interest in French and English among Nagasaki interpreters, see Koga 1966, pp. 105–6 and Koga 1966, pp. 121–4. There was also interest in the study of German privately among the Nagasaki interpreters and the shogunate occasionally ordered the translation of German documents, which often had to be completed with the help of the Dutch in Deshima (Koga 1966, pp. 112–19).

[9] Koga 1966, p. 107.

[10] Shinmura notes that the decision to use Manchu rather than literary Sinitic was probably to do with how much easier Manchu was in comparison (Shinmura 1927, p. 53).

in Russia and was almost entirely incomprehensible. Thus the Nagasaki interpreters requested a Dutch-speaking member of Rezanov's party to translate the Russian text into Dutch, which they then translated into Japanese and sent to Edo; however it was clear that knowledge of Manchu would also have been useful.[11]

The order for Nagasaki interpreters of Chinese to learn Manchu was not the first interest in the language in Japan. During the Tokugawa period, the shogunate library held at least thirty-one volumes of Manchu works, and a few scholars, including Ogyū Sorai, who wrote a study of written Manchu, dabbled in Manchu language studies at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[12] A Manchu version of the sixth-century *Thousand Character Classic* (*Qianzi wen*) was reprinted numerous times.[13] Unlike the original version of the *Thousand Character Classic*, in which meaningful sentences were written in literary Sinitic using one thousand different Chinese characters, the Manchu-language version reproduced the sounds of the *Classic* using Manchu script. Given the interest in spoken Chinese among scholars in Japan, the Manchu rendering of the sounds of the Chinese text was probably used as an aid for learning the pronunciation of the Manchu alphabet.

The shogunate order of 1808 that Chinese interpreters learn Manchu did not bear fruit until the closing decades of the Tokugawa period when a team of fourteen Nagasaki interpreters of Chinese background, headed by Tei Einei (1829–97), produced two Manchu–Japanese dictionaries, translated from an edition of the Manchu dictionary *Mirror of Manchu* (*Qingwen jian*, 1673–1708).[14] These dictionaries reproduced words in Manchu characters, glossed with cursive kana pronunciation guides,

11 Shinmura 1927, p. 55.

12 *Investigation of Manchu* (*Manbunkō*, undated manuscript). For a list of early Manchu studies works, see Shinmura 1927, p. 106.

13 *Manchu Thousand Character Classic* (*Qingshu qianzi wen*, 1685). This work was included in several Chinese calligraphic manuals reprinted in Japan. e.g., *Commentary on the Thousand Character Classic* (Ch. *Qianzi wen zhu*, Jp. *Senjimonchū*), first published in 1698 in Osaka (Cai 1698), and *A Thousand Characters and One Hundred Forms of Seal Script Calligraphy by Sages from Successive Dynasties* (Ch. *Lichao shengxian zhuanshu baiti qianwen*, Jp. *Rekichō seiken tensho hyakutai senmon*, 1685) (Zhou (n.d.)). On *Manchu Text of the Thousand Character Classic* in Japan, see Kanda 2005.

14 *Japanese Interpretation of the Mirror of Manchu* (*Shinbunkan wage*, 1855) and *Translated Compilation of Manchu Vocabulary* (*Hon'yaku Mango sanhen*, 1855), which were compiled from an enlarged version of *Mirror of Manchu*. On the Japanese texts, see Haneda 1936. See also Akamine 1989, 1990, 1991, which contain a transcription of *Translated Compilation of Manchu Vocabulary*. On the different editions of the official Qing dictionaries upon which these translations were based, see Imanishi 1966. On the possible reasons for the delay between the shogunate order to learn Manchu and the translations, see Shinmura 1927, pp. 89–92. Haneda suggests that the Nagasaki interpreters were not aware of Kageyasu's earlier work (1936, pp. 39–40).

with their Sinitic compound translation and notes in simple scholarly Japanese written using a mixture of cursive kana and Sinitic characters. Though, as discussed below, Takahashi Kageyasu (1785–1829) had in fact produced a Manchu dictionary many years earlier in Edo in his capacity as an official of the Edo-based Bureau of Astronomy (*tenmondai* 天文台), the efforts of Tei Einei and his team were not entirely without benefits. After the Meiji Restoration of 1868, in 1869 Einei was appointed to the new Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*gaimushō* 外務省) and accompanied the government envoy Date Munenari on his mission to Qing China in 1871. Einei also continued to produce translations, including a *kundoku* annotated version of the Qing law codes.[15]

### *Shogunate translation officials in Edo*

Since the seventeenth century when the Dutch were confined to Deshima, the shogunate had relied on interpreters based in Nagasaki to act as intermediaries through oral interpretation and the translation of official documents. This arrangement continued until the second decade of the nineteenth century, at which time the shogunate first began to exert closer control over translation and to build up a stable of official translators based in Edo, in addition to the Nagasaki-based interpreters, whose skills continued to be used. For the time being, until the first Opium War scare in the 1840s highlighted the need for knowledge of Western military technology, the Edo-based shogunal translators concentrated on astronomy, official communications, and the topics of history, geography, and natural sciences that had interested Dutch studies specialists for some decades.

The obvious candidates for the role of Edo-based, government translators, were the language specialists of the Bureau of Astronomy, known as the 'Astronomy Officers' (*tenmonkata* 天文方), who by this time already had some experience of dealing with Dutch texts in the course of their work. The astronomy officers, who were responsible for maintaining a correct and reliable calendar, had originally relied on literary Sinitic texts composed in China. Later, after then-shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune lifted the ban on Matteo Ricci's works in 1721, some of the Chinese works they studied were Jesuit translations dealing with Western calendrical science that had been made for the Chinese mission.[16] However, the last calendar reformed using such texts was the calendar of Kansei 9 (1797),

[15] Information on Einei's translations comes from Kodansha 2001b.
[16] For an overview of the Chinese mission translations, see Hsia 2007.

and from then on the astronomy officers increasingly relied upon Western works in the Dutch language, as these were found to be more reliable.[17]

The first Dutch texts the astronomy officers encountered were works of astronomy for a generalist audience brought by the VOC traders, such as Dutch translations of works authored by Benjamin Martin, a scientific lecturer and instrument-maker who settled in London in the 1750s.[18] As these were insufficiently detailed for the calendrical purposes of the astronomy officers, more specialist works were ordered from the VOC. In 1801, Takahashi Yoshitoki (1764–1804) was ordered to investigate a Dutch translation of a work by the French astronomer Joseph-Jérôme Lefrançais de Lalande (1732–1807). He immediately devoted himself to translating it.[19] When Yoshitoki died one year later, some said from overwork because of the project, his sons and colleagues continued his work. Thus began the most prolific period of translation from Dutch works of astronomy, which reached its peak with the calendar of 1842. After this time, when European military might was resoundingly displayed against China in the first and second Opium Wars, Western works of military science began to form the focus of official translation efforts.

Astronomy officials were increasingly given translation responsibilities beyond the field of astronomy from the second decade of the nineteenth century onwards.[20] In 1809, the former Nagasaki interpreter Baba Teiyu, who had been seconded to the Bureau, translated extracts from agricultural works and works of Russian history and geography, and together with Takahashi Yoshitoki's son, Kageyasu, who had followed in his father's footsteps as an astronomy official, made a partial translation of the naturalist Engelbert Kaempfer's *History of Japan*.[21] The Nagasaki-based interpreter Motoki Masahide transferred to the Bureau, and was ordered to translate maps and diagrams for naval ships in 1808. In 1811, the shogunate established the Office for the Translation of Barbarian Books (*Bansho wage goyō* 蕃書和解御用) under the direction of Kageyasu.[22] In this project, over the years a group of translators from the Bureau of Astronomy, centred around Kageyasu, Teiyū, Ōtsuki

[17] On the history of the Bureau of Astronomy, see Nakayama 1984. The most authoritative study in English on the history Western astronomy in Japan is Nakayama 1969.

[18] Nakayama 1984, p. 176. [19] Nakayama 1972, p. 474.

[20] The following discussion draws upon Numata 1960, pp. 119–27.

[21] *Extracted Translation of an Account of Japan* (*Nihonkiji shōyaku*, 1808).

[22] Also written with the characters 蛮書和解御用. There were several other titles for this project including *Oranda shojaku wage no goyō* 阿蘭陀書籍和解之御用 (Office for the Translation of Dutch texts), and *Bansho shomeeru wageno goyō* 蛮書ショメール和解之御用 (Office for the translation of Chomel's barbarian book).

Gentaku, and Aoji Rinsō, worked on *A New Compendium for Health* (*Kōsei shinpen*), a translation into simple scholarly Japanese written in Sinitic characters and cursive kana. The source text was the Dutch translation and expansion of Noël Chomel's encyclopaedia *The Family Dictionary* (*Dictionnaire oeconomique*, first published in 1709). Their translation of numerous extracts from this work, discussed in more detail below, was presented to the shogunate collection, though copies also circulated in manuscript.

Like the interpreters, the astronomy officials were also ordered to study the Russian and Manchu languages in addition to Dutch. Though the shogunate had first turned to Nagasaki interpreters in the wake of Rezanov's visit to Japanese waters in 1804, Bureau records show that from 1813, the year of Captain Golovnin's release, astronomy officials were ordered to learn Russian, to compile Russian–Japanese dictionaries and to check translations of works from Russian, the last project of this type dating to 1826.[23] Slightly earlier, in the wake of the Phaeton Incident of 1808, Kageyasu had been ordered to study Manchu so that he could translate the Manchu documents brought by Rezanov.[24] Kageyasu used *Revised and Enlarged Mirror of Manchu* (*Zengding Qingwen jian*, finished in 1771), a Qing government revision of its Manchu dictionary *Mirror of Manchu*.[25] The *Mirror of Manchu* had been written solely in Manchu but the revised and enlarged edition had been reformatted into a Manchu-literary Sinitic dictionary including Manchu pronunciation expressed in Chinese characters, and so Kageyasu was able to learn Manchu using his knowledge of literary Sinitic.[26] He completed his translation of the Russian petition and presented it to the shogunate in the ninth month of 1810.[27]

Kageyasu labelled his translation a 'glossed translation and forced interpretation of a Russian petition' (*Roshiakoku teisho Manbun kun'yaku kyōkai* 魯西亜国呈書訓訳強解).[28] As the use of the term 'glossed translation' (*kun'yaku*) suggests, the translation strategy Kageyasu used was similar to the glosses of the Japanese annotated reprints (*wakokubon*) of Chinese texts discussed in Chapter 3, albeit with one important difference. He listed each Manchu phrase separately, glossed with cursive kana transliterations to the left, and translations to the right. These translations to

[23] The *Tenmonkata daidaiki* 天文方代々記 cited in Nakayama 1984, pp. 177–8.
[24] On the life of Kageyasu, see Uehara 1977.
[25] Shinmura 1927, p. 58.
[26] On the different editions of the *Mirror of Manchu*, see Imanishi 1966.
[27] Shinmura 1927, p. 59. This work is also known as *Manbun kyōkai* 満文強解 (Strained Interpretation of a Manchu Text).
[28] This work survives as a manuscript in Kageyasu's own hand (Takahashi 1810).

the right, rather than being written in Japanese using kana and Sinitic characters as in the other examples of *kun'yaku* works, were written using literary Sinitic. This was followed by explanatory notations in Japanese written with a mixture of Sinitic characters and cursive kana. For those words which were not contained in the Manchu dictionary, he guessed at possible meanings (hence the *kyōkai* 強解 – meaning 'forced interpretation' – of the title). Last of all, Kageyasu gave a translation of the entire document in the mixed Sinitic characters and square kana style of literary Japanese. No doubt Kageyasu used such close translation strategies to preserve the form and content of the source document from Rezanov since it was an important diplomatic communication.

All together, Kageyasu is known to have produced eleven works using Manchu-language sources, the latest dating from 1827, the year before his arrest and eventual death in connection with the von Siebold Incident.[29] His Manchu works were mainly dictionaries or language studies based on translations from *Revised and Enlarged Mirror of Manchu*, but also included translations of other official Russian documents such as the letters from the Russian governor of Irkutsk to Matsumae office in relation to Golovnin's capture.[30]

### *Establishing a stable of scholar-translators:* A New Compendium for Health

In the previous chapter we saw that collaboration was a feature of translation efforts among Dutch studies scholars and it is also worth noting that the shogunate translators did not work in isolation either. The astronomy official Kageyasu's preference for collaborative translation led Ōtsuki Genkan to accuse him of making use of the talents of others for his own gain.[31] The largest and best-known team translation project undertaken by official shogunate translators was *A New Compendium for Health* (*Kōsei shinpen*), the aforementioned translation, begun in 1811, using several Dutch versions of Noël Chomel's household encyclopaedia, *The Family Dictionary*.[32] The translation project was known by

[29] For a list of these see Shinmura 1927, pp. 104–5.
[30] Shinmura 1927, pp. 61–2.
[31] Ōtsuki Genkan, *Supplementary Notes to The Beginnings of Dutch Studies* (*Rangaku kotohajime fuki*, 1832), quoted in Shinmura 1927, pp. 45–6.
[32] There are several modern reprints of the translations including Baba 1978. Though various editions of Chomel were extant in Japan, Sugimoto gives the seven-volume edition as the original that Baba Teiyū *et al.* used in their translation; however he acknowledges that other editions may have been used in addition to this one (Sugimoto 1998, pp. 40–51). See also Maclean 1974, pp. 22–5. On different editions of the Dutch versions and their availability in Japan, see also Itazawa 1959, pp. 266–70.

various names, including *Bansho wage goyō* 蛮書和解御用 (Office for the translation of barbarian books) and *Bansho Shomēru wage no goyō* 蛮書ショメール和解之御用 (Office for the translation of Chomel's barbarian book), and was completed by a team of translators, initially centred around Baba Teiyū and Ōtsuki Getaku, but later involving Udagawa Genshin as a replacement for Teiyū who had additional duties as a Russian interpreter.[33] Over the years, many of the major scholars of Western studies associated with the shogunate, including Sugita Ryūkei, Aoji Rinsō, and Koseki San'ei participated.[34] The manuscript draft of *A New Compendium for Health* that was completed around 1854 and held by the shogunate is some 102 volumes long, with an initial manuscript draft of 70 volumes to which an additional 32 volumes were later added; this later addition contains some doubling up of chapters which were in the original 70-volume draft.[35] Numerous other manuscript copies and extracts survive, and a section, held by the library of Hiroshima University, was printed in 1815.[36]

The translation methodology adopted by the compilers of *A New Compendium for Health* involved translating into a relatively simple form of Japanese, using cursive kana and Sinitic characters, square kana for foreign terms, and with kana glosses on difficult Sinitic characters. The translators also seem to have been concerned with maintaining a high degree of accuracy. Members of the team were assigned different sections for translation, and on occasion two or more translators would translate the same section, probably in an attempt to reduce errors.[37] Each section begins with a short introduction that provides background information, including the translators' own knowledge of the topic.[38] In those cases when the edition used as the source may be identified, the translation can be seen to be fairly close, as in the following example (contained in Table 7).[39]

[33] Sugimoto 1998, p. 62. [34] Sugimoto 1998, pp. 62–4.
[35] Sugimoto 1998, p. 51. On the contents of each volume and the translators responsible see Sugimoto 1998, pp. 52–61.
[36] *Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku.* [37] Sugimoto 1998, p. 71.
[38] Sugimoto 1998, pp. 72–7. The translation, though unpublished, affected Japanese scientific terminology by means of the terms translators selected for rendering Western scientific language. The translators went on to use these terms in their other works, which circulated more widely. For a useful study on the effects of Dutch on Japanese, see Saitō 1967.
[39] On the identification of versions with translated sections, see Sugimoto 1998, pp. 78–9; Itazawa 1959, pp. 266–93.

Table 7. *Comparative extract from translation of* The Family Dictionary

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Dutch source, *Huishoudelyk Woordenboek*, 1778 | AJUIN of ZIEPEL, latyn *Cepa.* (*Allium scapo nudo inferne ventricoso longiore, foliis teretibus,* LINN. *Spec. plantar.*)<br>*Beschryving.* Het is een Plantgewas, dat ronde en holle bladen maakt, ter lengte van omtrent een voet. De steel of stam, uit het midden der bladen voortspruitende, is rond, hol, en beneden dikker als boven, zynde drie voet hoog, en hebbende een bloembol, met een ronde tros bloemen, wit of purperverwig. Op die bloemen volgt de vrugt, behelzende bijna ronde en zwartagtige zaaden. De wortel welke gemeenlijk *Ajuin* genaamt word, is een ronde bol, dog onder en boven eenigzints plat, zamengestelt uit veele witte of roode over malkander leggende schillen, die onaangenaam van reuk zijn, en die, doorgesneeden zijnde, de oogen doen overlopen. Daar zijn twee zoorten van, als Roode en Witte, zijnde de laaste aangenaamer van smaak.<br>*Plaats.* Men queekt de *Ajuin* in de Moestuinen. Zij moet een vette grond hebben. Voorts als men van *Ajuin* spreekt, verstaat men doorgaans de bol, waar van in de keuken gebruik word gemaakt.[40] | ONION or 'ZIEPEL' Latin. *Cepa.* (*Allium scapo nudo inferne ventricoso longiore, foliis teretibus,* Linnaean. *Spec. plantar.*)<br>*Description.* It is a cultivated plant that forms round and hollow leaves of about one foot in length. The stalk or stem proceeds from the middle of the leaves, and is round, hollow and thicker at the base than at the top; it is three feet tall, and has a flower head[41] consisting of a round cluster of flowers, white or purple. After the flowers [this is where] the fruit grows, containing blackish, almost round seeds. The root (that which is commonly referred to as 'onion') is a round globe, but the top and bottom are somewhat flat, composed of many husks, white or red, lying over one another, that are of an unpleasant odour, and which, when sliced open cause the eyes to water. There are two kinds, red and white, the latter having a more pleasant taste.<br>*Place.* People cultivate the onion in kitchen gardens. It requires rich soil. Furthermore, when one speaks of 'onion', this usually means the bulb, which is used in the kitchen. |
| Corresponding section in *A New Compendium for Health* | 葱（ねぎ）<br>和蘭「アユイン」又「シイベル」と名く<br>羅甸語にて「セバ」となづく<br>葱は葉円く内空にして末尖（さきとが）れり。長は五尺余に | Onion<br>In Dutch called *ayuin* or *shiiberu*. In Latin called *seba* [cepa].[42]<br>The onion has round, hollow leaves which are thinner at the tip. These reach approximately |

[40] Chomel 1778–93, vol. I, p. 51.
[41] *Bloembol*. In the context this seems to refer to the flower head (or perhaps the flower bud), rather than meaning 'bulb', as it does in modern Dutch.
[42] This note is not in the Dutch and has been added by the Japanese translator.

| | |
|---|---|
| 至る。其中より茎（くき）を抽く。是亦形ち円くして内は空なり。其本（もと）太く末に至りて漸く細し。長さ三尺余、其端に花叢有り。花は色白く或は紫色にして多く簇（あつま）る後、実を結ぶ。其内に黒色を帯たる円形の種子あり。根の形は円く葉本根上やゝ匾平（ひらめ）なり。或は白或は赤色の皮重ね裹（つつ）めり。其香あしく臭気甚し。これを断りて其気目にあたれば人涙沸を流すに至る。世人この白根を指してアユイン〈即葱白〉といふ。赤白の二種あり白色の者味佳し。 | 5 *shaku* in length. The stem comes from within; it is also round and hollow inside. The base is thick and gradually tapers off at the tip. It is about three *shaku* in length. At the end is a flower head. The flowers are white or purple in colour and after many have clustered the fruit is formed. Within this [fruit] there are round, blackish seeds. The root is round, and is somewhat flat at the base of the leaves where the top of the root is. It has layers of skin which are white or red in colour. The smell is extremely bad. When cut, if the vapour reaches the eye, it causes people to well with tears. People call this white root 'onion' <i.e the white part of a *negi*>. There are two varieties: white and red. The white one has a pleasant taste. |
| 土地<br>此物すべて菜園（さいゑん）につくる、尤肥（こへ）たる土地を択（えら）ぶべし。[43] | *Place*. These are cultivated in all kitchen gardens. One should choose the richest soil. |

The translator has transferred most of the information contained in the Dutch source into his Japanese translation.[44] Of their approach, the translators themselves wrote in their prefatory remarks:

> In the first instance, we have done the translations (*yakusetsu* 訳説) in these volumes in everyday (informal) language (*zokubun* 俗文), using Japanese characters (*kokuji* 国字). When choosing between formal and informal language (*gazoku* 雅俗), we chose that which was easiest to read.[45]

According to the introductory overview to the translation project, written by Baba Teiyū and Ōtsuki Gentaku in 1812, the purpose of the translation was the education of the general populace:

[43] Sugimoto 1998, p. 127.
[44] On the possible identity of this translator and the others see Sugimoto 1998, pp. 52–61.
[45] These remarks are reprinted in modern characters in Sugimoto 1998, pp. 117–24. This quote is from pp. 122–3.

> The intention behind this new order from on high to translate (*wage* 和解) this Dutch book is that it might be spread further and wider into the public domain of the realm, so that even the likes of unlearned and illiterate bumpkins and craftsmen (*fugaku monmō naru yafu kushiki* 不学文盲なる野夫工職) might read, comprehend, and make use of it. Therefore, in the grammar of our translation (*wage bunpō* 和解文法), simplification and ease [of comprehension] (*tsūzoku heiwa* 通俗平和) should be of utmost importance. It goes without saying, of course, that the exception to this is information appropriate only to those of middle rank and above by virtue of their work – particularly medical techniques and medicines.[46]

The reference to illiteracy (*fugaku monmō* 不学文盲) is to the inability of the unlearned to read literary Sinitic, hence the choice of the more easily accessible language of scholarly Japanese, with glosses on the characters. The concern for the readability of the translation suggests that it was to be through the medium of the translation itself that the general populace was to be reached with the benefits of Western learning. However, though numerous manuscript copies circulated, and part of the translation was printed, there were no efforts to spread the work by the shogunate after it had been presented.

What was the point of the shogunate-sponsored Chomel translation project? Numata notes that its instigation was indirectly a result of the Kansei Reforms (1787–93) some twenty years earlier, and that to understand *A New Compendium for Health* we need to look back to this.[47] The author of the reforms, Matsudaira Sadanobu (1758–1829), was aware of the benefits the study of Western science could bring and felt that Dutch studies should not be left in the hands of the populace, but should be practised and controlled by the shogunate. Under the direction of Sadanobu, the shogunate took the first steps toward controlling the study of Western science and technology, and this included bringing the country's best astronomers to work in the Bureau of Astronomy under the pretext of forming the new calendar of 1797.[48]

Gentaku, who co-authored the preface to *A New Compendium for Health*, had similar views to Sadanobu: he felt that the study of Dutch books had practical benefits, could supplement certain gaps in Chinese learning, and that the shogunate should control the study of Western knowledge.[49] No part of this involved making Dutch books readily accessible to the masses, and if such a desire was genuinely behind the initial order to translate Chomel's encyclopaedia, it was soon forgotten. It may in fact be that one purpose of *A New Compendium for Health* was to satisfy the intellectual curiosity of the talented scholars employed as translators

46 Sugimoto 1998, p. 121. 47 Numata 1960, pp. 126–9. 48 Tatsuya 1991, p. 470.
49 Numata 1960, pp. 126–9.

by the shogunate, in order to keep them safely in shogunate employ. A proponent of this view, Numata, notes, for instance, that it was calls for Baba Teiyū to return to Nagasaki when there was less work for him at the Bureau of Astronomy that initially prompted the order to begin *A New Compendium for Health*.[50] The shogunate was using soft power to keep a degree of control over senior figures in the study of Western knowledge – translators, who held the keys of access.

### *The First Opium War scare*

In addition to the study of diplomatic languages, *A New Compendium for Health* and the works translated under the auspices of the shogunate or by shogunate-sponsored translators during this period were still by and large concerned with the same topics as had been the focus of the Dutch studies translation discussed in Chapter 4: history, geography, and the natural sciences. However, with news reaching Japan of the first Opium War (1839–42) and British military might, interest grew in works of military technology and strategy and this began to be reflected in what was translated.

Information about the decisive British defeat of Qing forces reached Japan over the course of 1839–42 via the annual Dutch reports, reports brought by Chinese merchant ships, and from imported Sinitic texts. The Dutch were particularly keen to inform the shogunate of British activity in East Asia because they believed Japan would be the next target and that the VOC might lose its monopoly on European trade with Japan.[51] In theory, only senior shogunate officials were permitted to read reports on foreign matters; however, manuscript copies made during the process of translation circulated among daimyo in many domains. These in turn became the basis for literary Sinitic works such as *All about the Opium War* (*Ahen shimatsu*, 1843) by Saitō Chikudō (1815–52). The contents of such works were eventually mined for use in more accessible, commercial publications designed to entertain and written in the simplified mixed Sino-Japanese style of older Japanese military romances.[52]

The information contained in the Dutch and Chinese reports made it clear that British victory in the Opium War was a result of superior military technology, and this led to calls for Japanese military defences to be

[50] Numata 1960, p. 121. [51] Matsukata 2007, pp. 151–74.

[52] Liu 2000, pp. 50–1. Examples of commercially printed works include: *New Tales from Abroad* (*Kaigai shinwa*, 1849), *Gleanings from New Tales from Abroad* (*Kaigai shinwa shūi*, 1849), and *New Tales from Yunnan* (*Unnan shinwa*, 1854). Such works contained many errors and exaggerations (Liu 2000, p. 51).


Figure 10 'Infantry Dress', unattributed. From Uyūsei, *New Tales from Abroad* (*Kaigai shinwa*), 1849, Waseda University Library

reformed along Western lines. One of the most important advocates was Takashima Shūhan (1798–1866), a gunnery expert who had been in charge of defences in Nagasaki and who had become interested in Western weaponry prior to the Opium War. In 1840, Shūhan wrote a memorial to the shogunate in which he urged the adoption of Western military technology.[53] He found an ally in Mizuno Tadakuni (1794–1851), who was then pre-eminent among the shogun's Council of Elders (*rōjū* 老中), and who advocated that Shūhan's preferred style of gunnery be adopted by the shogunate.

However, a conservative faction within the shogunate, led by Torii Yōzō (1796–1873), the city commissioner (*machi bugyō* 町奉行) for Edo, significantly hindered the expansion of shogunate-sponsored translation and study of Western materials.[54] The members of this faction opposed Western learning, partly for reasons of personal rivalry because their political

[53] Katsu 1927, pp. 1–3.
[54] Unless otherwise noted, information in this section comes from Matsuoka's study of Torii's crackdown (Matsuoka 1991).

opponents were promoting the use of such knowledge, and partly due to a view that Western technology did not offer the best solutions to Japanese problems. In 1839 this factionalism had led to the 'Gaoling of the Barbarian Society' incident (*Bansha no goku* 蛮社の獄). The *Bansha* or 'Barbarian Society' was a circle of scholars interested in Western studies centred on Watanabe Kazan and Dutch expert Takano Chōei. The Barbarian Society members were investigated by Torii in his capacity as official censor (*metsuke* 目付), and several were imprisoned, ostensibly for having publicly criticized the shogunate over its handling of the Morrison Incident of 1837, in which an American merchant ship attempting to approach the Japanese coast had been driven off with cannon fire.[55]

Although a tract by Chōei, criticizing the shogunate response to the Morrison incident and calling for a more open attitude to the West, did indeed circulate, as Satō Shōsuke has shown, the roots of the crackdown may be traced to a personal disagreement between Torii and Egawa Hidetatsu (1801–55), a weapons expert and shogunal magistrate (*daikan* 代官), over what defence measures ought to be adopted in Edo Bay.[56] Egawa's strategies were based in part on information from Western sources, which he had Kazan compile. Kazan, who could not read Dutch, in turn relied on the translation abilities of Chōei. The crackdown on the Barbarian Society was founded as much on Torii's desire to undermine Egawa's position and the use of Western ideas, as in the need to punish the translator Chōei's publication of materials calling for greater freedom for Western studies scholars.[57]

Conservative elements continued to hinder the study of the West. Shūhan, the gunnery expert and protégé of the pre-eminent Senior Elder Tadakuni, was also investigated by Torii and imprisoned in 1842. When Tadakuni was deposed the following year, his sponsorship of Western military technology was abandoned (Tadakuni briefly returned as a senior elder in 1844 but was again forced into retirement).[58]

[55] Jansen 1989, pp. 106–11. Kazan and Chōei are discussed in Chapter 4 of the present monograph.

[56] Satō 2000, pp. 227–300.

[57] It is worth noting that the collaboration between private scholars and domain or shogunate officials, observed in Chapter 4, continued in this period. When Egawa was eventually ordered to study Takashima's style of gunnery, it was to the Tawara domain scholar Suzuki Shunsan (1801–46) that he turned for the translations necessary to supplement what he had learned from Takashima. Egawa also employed the translation services of his own retainer Yatabe Keiun (1819–57). Similarly, when Mizuno Tadakuni with shogunate permission was adopting the Takashima style for his own domain defences, he had translations made by Shunsan and another scholar of Dutch, Makiboku Chū (dates unknown) (Satō 2000, p. 333).

[58] On Torii's investigation of Shūhan, see Satō 1980, pp. 274–9. On Mizuno Tadakuni's downfall, see Kitajima 1969, pp. 483–97.

A handful of strategic translations were ordered from Astronomy Officials in the brief period before Tadakuni was deposed.[59] These included a translation of the Dutch constitution and translations of the Dutch Criminal Code and Code of Criminal Procedure.[60] According to contemporary accounts, Tadakuni commissioned translations of 'Dutch military and governmental works' (*Oranda heisho oyobi seisho* 和蘭兵書及び政書) with the aim of 'reforming government administration so as to enable the [shogunate] . . . to recover from its decline; concerned about foreign policy, he further sought methods of dealing with the foreign powers'.[61] However, Tadakuni's hopes were to end in disappointment. It was not until the shock occasioned by the arrival of Perry and his warships had created the impetus for Tadakuni's replacement, Abe Masahiro (1819–57), to establish the Office for Western Studies (*Yōgakusho* 洋学所) in 1855 that any concerted effort was made by the shogunate to translate Western military works for its own purposes. Significantly, *Complete Book of Naval Artillery* (*Kaijō hōjutsu zensho*, 1843) another of the translations commissioned under Tadakuni before he was deposed, and which afterwards had only circulated in manuscript, was suddenly revived and printed by Ōno domain in 1854, the year after Perry's arrival.

Not only was there little shogunate-sponsored translation of Western military works prior to the Office for Western Studies, there was only sporadic interest in acquiring such works prior to this period. In the hiatus following Masahide's ballistics translations in response to the Russian threat in the early nineteenth century, it was not until Senior Elder Tadakuni's interest in the use of Western military technology in the late 1830s and early 1840s that the shogunate began to acquire such materials or order their translation, and this faltered with Tadakuni's fall from power. Records which are available for the years 1829–38, for example, show that the shogunate did not purchase a single work of Western military science during that time.[62] Dutch records for the same period, however, show that a considerable number were in fact imported into Japan during roughly the same period, some eighty-four works (in ninety-three volumes). These appear to have been purchased not by the

59 Including *Complete Book of Naval Artillery* (*Kaijō hōjutsu zensho*, 1843), a translation of J. N. Calten's *Introduction to Naval Artillery* (*Leiddraad bij het Onderrigt in de Zee-artillerie*, Delft: B. Bruins, 1832). The Japanese version was completed by a group of translators led by Udagawa Yōan.

60 On Tokugawa translations of Dutch legal texts see Verwayen's study (Verwayen 1998).

61 The scholar Ōtsuki Joden (1845–1931) cited and translated by Verwayen 1998, pp. 336–7.

62 The following data comes from Satō 1980, pp. 346–7. Satō uses the analysis of Dutch sources in MacLean 1974 for information on Dutch imports.

shogunate but by interested individuals acting in a private capacity. The majority were purchased by the aforementioned gunnery expert Takashima Shūhan and his brother Hisamatsu Kenjirō (dates unknown), who was a senior town official (*machi toshiyori* 町年寄). When he was arrested in 1842, Shūhan owned 111 volumes worth of Western military works, more than the shogunate held at the time. The majority of them had been purchased from the VOC representatives in Nagasaki.[63]

Following Perry's arrival, however, the new Senior Elder Masahiro resurrected many of the deposed Tadakuni's policies, making use of weapons experts such as Egawa and Shūhan, who was released from prison at this time. Translation was key to the new initiatives: in the first month of 1855, numerous scholars of Dutch studies, including Oda Matazō and Mitsukuri Genpō were given responsibilities for the supervision and defence of the newly opened port of Shimoda, and ordered to translate 'Dutch books' (*ransho* 蘭書).[64] Since the term used is *ransho*, it seems likely that these translation responsibilities were not the official interpretation of diplomatic communications (denoted elsewhere in the records by the specific source language, which in the case of Perry would not have been Dutch), and instead related to the translation of books, likely those that could be of use in military defence. Dutch language works were still the most readily available Western-language source of information. The year these responsibilities for translation were doled out, 1855, was the year the Office for Western Studies was established in Edo. A record was also taken of the Western-language books held in daimyo collections and certain translations were confiscated for official use.[65] The following year the remaining translation responsibilities of the Astronomy Officials were moved to the Office for the Investigation of Barbarian Books (*Bansho shirabesho* 蕃書調所) as the Office for Western Studies was now known.[66] The new office represented a concerted effort by the shogunate to locate the responsibility for translation and study of Western matters in a dedicated government office in Edo as opposed to Nagasaki.[67] But, by then, they had wasted much valuable time.

## Domain-sponsored translation

Though the shogunate did not attempt the systematic acquisition of Western military knowledge through translation until after Perry's arrival,

63 Satō 1980, pp. 347–9. 64 Ishin Shiryō Hensan Jimukyoku 1937a, p. 6.
65 Ishin Shiryō Hensan Jimukyoku 1937a, p. 249.
66 Ishin Shiryō Hensan Jimukyoku 1937a, p. 197. 67 Hara 1992, pp. 31–65.

several domains were much quicker off the mark. Indeed, shogunate factionalism allowed certain domains, by means of translation and experimentation, to gain what with hindsight seems an ominous head start in military matters. By the 1820s and 1830s, many domain schools, particularly those in contact with the Dutch or threatened by Western military powers, such as those with coastlines in the southern part of the island of Honshū or northern and western Kyūshū, also included Western learning in their curriculum.[68] Officials in Chōshū, Satsuma, and Hizen domains, in particular, were convinced by the increasing numbers of foreign ships in Japanese waters of the need to study Western medical and military technology and so competed for the services of talented translators.[69]

Throughout this period, the shogunate's attitude towards domain appropriation of Western military technology was beset by an internal contradiction. On the one hand, with declining shogunal control over the powerful but less trusted 'outer' (*tozama* 外様) domains, who had joined the Tokugawa alliance only by the time of the decisive battle of Sekigahara, there was the very real fear of what power-hungry daimyo might accomplish if they had access to superior military technology. On the other hand, the long-held shogunate policy of relying on the domains for coastal defence meant there was a need to encourage them to build up appropriate forces and fortifications. In 1841 the shogunal Senior Elder Tadakuni had been able to gain permission for Egawa to study Western gunnery techniques under Shūhan in order to reform the shogunate military defences in Edo. Tadakuni had also, after a struggle, eventually been granted permission to begin manufacturing Western-style weaponry in his own domain. However, Tadakuni was at that time a most trusted shogunal adviser and these permissions were granted on the understanding that the technology was to be kept secret, for fear of what it might do in the hands of other daimyo.[70]

However, mounting fears of foreign military strength occasioned by the Opium War could not be ignored and in the seventh and eighth months of 1842 they led to a series of shogunate orders that the domains improve their military defences. The shogunate also gave orders in the same month to domains responsible for the defence of Edo bay, the wording of which is revealing: the domains ought to 'consider foreign military strategies' and to build up their stockpile of weapons and personnel numbers accordingly. The order also recognized the need to appreciate the 'differences' between Western and Japanese (or Chinese) military technology and noted that the West had some 'effective weapons and particular

[68] Kasai 1960, p. 246. [69] Ogawa 1998, p. 32. [70] Satō 2000, pp. 307–8, 325–6.

preparedness'.[71] In other words, although there was no direct order to study Western techniques, the domains were tacitly expected to apprise themselves of relevant information. To do so they would need to engage in translation. An edict tightening controls on the circulation and translation of Dutch texts in 1850, for instance, assumes that daimyo would engage in the translation of Western works for the purposes of naval defence.[72]

### *Chōshū domain's translation programme*

Chōshū domain, located at the southernmost tip of the main island of Honshū, was an extremely successful adopter of Western military technology. By the closing years of the Tokugawa period, they had one of the best equipped and trained armies in Japan. Totman notes that Chōshū leaders had the advantage in the wars of the Meiji Revolution because they understood as early as 1865 that the question of primacy would be decided on the battle field and prepared single-mindedly from early in 1865 for that purpose.[73] Indeed, the roots of Chōshū's success go back even further. As early as the 1840s domain officials successfully implemented a systematic approach to the translation of Western-language materials, with a view to military preparedness, and this developed in the decades that followed, culminating in reforms that endowed Chōshū with a well-prepared military in the closing years of the Tokugawa period.

Murata Kiyokaze (1783–1855), architect of the institutional reforms in Chōshū during the Tenpō period (1830–44), had been convinced for some time of the necessity of studying Western military techniques due to the pressure from Russia to the north.[74] In a letter dated 1847 he claimed that twenty years earlier he had invited interested scholars to read his collection of Western books, feeling that it was of no use to the country to keep them locked up.[75] Kiyokaze befriended the Dutch studies scholar and medic Tsuboi Shindō, whose academy for the study of Dutch learning was located near the mansion which the Chōshū domain maintained in Edo in accordance with the 'alternate residence' requirements of

[71] Satō 2000, p. 312. A record of the orders is contained in Naitō 1893 at pp. 224, 228–9, 230–1.

[72] There is some confusion in the sources as to the exact year. The edict cited in Ishin Shiryō Hensan Jimukyoku 1937b, p. 276 gives the date as the 21st of the 9th month of Kaei 2 (1849), and in Tōkyō Daigaku Shiryōhensanjo 1984 as the 21st of the 9th month of Kaei 3 (1850).

[73] Totman, pp. 434–5. On the military preparations put in to effect by Chōshū officials from 1865 onwards, see Tanaka 2001.

[74] Ogawa 1998, pp. 26–9.

[75] Quoted in Ogawa 1998, p. 30.

the shogunate. In 1838, Kiyokaze appointed Shindō special physician (*shokutakui* 嘱託医) to the Chōshū domain, thus marking the beginning of efforts in Chōshū to build up a stable of talented Dutch linguists, who in the beginning were mostly medical men.

The most significant appointment in this respect was the physician Aoki Shūsuke (1803–63), who was appointed as a domain translator (*hon'yakugakari* 翻訳掛) in 1840.[76] Shūsuke, who had been trained in Chinese medicine in his native Chōshū, also studied Dutch in Osaka and in Edo under Tsuboi Shindō and Udagawa Shinsai (1769–1834) and spent time with VOC physician von Siebold in Nagasaki.[77] It was on Shūsuke's recommendation that the Chōshū Medical Institute (*Igakukan* 医学館) was established in 1841.[78] The syllabus records an almost equal mixture of Chinese medical classics, such as the *Treatise on Cold Damage Disorders* (*Shanghan lun*, *c*.220), and translations of Western works of medicine like *New Book of Ophthalmology* (*Ganka shinsho*, printed 1815–16), translated into literary Sinitic (with *kundoku* annotations) by Sugita Ryūkei, and *Correct Beginnings of Medical Treatment* (*Iryō seishi*, printed 1835 and 1858), translated into simple academic Japanese using a mixture of square kana and Sinitic characters by Itō Genboku.[79]

However, this school was not only for the study of medicine but also for the teaching of Dutch and the study and translation of Western books. In addition, the syllabus records that in the early years, one day a month Shūsuke taught translation.[80] Nor was the focus of translation efforts solely on medical works. Special attention was paid from early on to the translation of materials relating to military technology: according to Chōshū records dated 1844, the translations are referred to not as medical works but as works concerning gunpowder and copper (*shōseki matawa dō no rui* 硝石又者銅之類).[81] The interest in gunpowder is self-explanatory; concern with copper probably relates to the smelting of this metal for use in the manufacture of cannon. In the tenth month of 1846 Tsuboi Shindō presented a

[76] *Seiyōgaku onhikitate ikken sata* 1840–52, vol. I, 6r.

[77] On the life of Aoki Shūsuke, see the following biography: Okahara 1994.

[78] Okahara 1994, pp. 127–8.

[79] A breakdown of the teaching responsibilities and texts used by the medical school is reproduced in Ogawa 1998, p. 31. *New Book of Ophthalmology* was translated from the Dutch-language work *Treatise on Eye Diseases* (*Verhandeling over de Oogziekten*, Rotterdam: 1787) by Martinus Pruys (1752–1830), and was itself a translation from a work in Latin by Joseph Jacob Plenck (1738–1807) (Miyasita 1975, p. 45; Sugita 1815). *Correct Beginnings of Medical Treatment* was translated from *Fundamental Principles of Practical Medicine, Clarified by Case Histories* (*Grondbeginsels der Praktische Geneeskunde, door Ziektegeschiedenissen Opgehelderd*, Nijmegen: 1826–8), which was translated from a German work by Ignaz Rudolph Bischoff (1784–1850) (Miyasita 1975, p. 39, Itō 1835).

[80] Ogawa 1998, p. 31.

[81] *Seiyōgaku onhikitate ikken sata* 1840–52, vol. I, 8r.

translation of *Introduction to Naval Artillery* (*Leiddraad bij het Onderrigt in de Zee-artillerie*) to the domain administration.[82] The Dutch source text had been translated by a shogunal government team including Udagawa Yōan in 1843, but was only available in manuscript copy until 1854. In 1846, when Shindō translated it for Chōshū, Yōan's official translation circulated only among senior shogunate advisers and was not widely available, hence the need for Shindō's rival translation for the Chōshū domain.

The other appointment which was greatly significant for the translation and adoption of Western military technology in Chōshū was that of Ōmura Masujirō (1824–69), later famous as a leading military reformer and strategist on behalf of Chōshū during the battles of the Meiji Revolution. From 1858, at the instigation of Aoki Shūsuke, Edo-based members of Chōshū had been holding meetings for the reading and translation of Western books and in 1859 Shūsuke requested that the domain government in Edo formally allow Masujirō to attend.[83] At the time, Masujirō ran his own private academy, lectured at the shogunate's Office for the Investigation of Barbarian Books, and worked as a translator of military works for Uwajima domain advising them on military matters.[84] Masujirō was subsequently employed officially by Chōshū as a teacher and translator. Initially, the shogunate gave permission for this on condition that he still continued his work at the Office for the Investigation of Barbarian Books and Uwajima domain consented on the condition that he still translate Western military works for them as necessary. However, shortly afterwards Masujirō was released from these duties and allowed to work exclusively for Chōshū.[85]

### *Translation and the outcome of the Meiji Revolution*

With the clarity of hindsight, it seems particularly unwise of shogunate officials to have allowed Ōmura Masujirō to move to Chōshū and continue his activities there. He oversaw the development of the Chōshū military into one of the most effective fighting regiments in late Tokugawa Japan, one which was among those eventually victorious against the shogunal forces and their allies.

Translation played an important role in Masujirō's successful reform of the Chōshū military. Documents surviving from the Chōshū archives show that he had some time before noted how Western nations translated the books of other nations into their own languages and used them in

[82] Ogawa 1998, p. 31. [83] Okahara 1994, pp. 289–93; Ogawa 1998, pp. 84–5.
[84] On Ōmura Masujirō's life and his work as a translator, see Itoya 1971.
[85] Ogawa 1998, p. 86.

schools.[86] Masujirō valued translation as a means of studying Western military technology and tactics, and established programmes for the translation and study of Western works in Chōshū. He was himself already the translator of several works of Western ballistics and battle tactics, which informed his teachings and military reform in the domain.[87]

One of the longest and most strategically important of Masujirō's translations was *An Introduction to Essential Battle Tactics for Soldiers* (*Heika suchi sentōjutsu mon*, 1864). This was a seven-volume translation of extracts from an instructional textbook that had been written by the Dutch Lieutenant General Willem Jan Knoop (1811–94) for the Royal Military Academy (Koninklijke Militaire Academie).[88] The extracts that Masujirō translated from Knoop's work examined the changes made to the French military in the wake of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars. In particular, Knoop emphasized the success of 'skirmisher' or 'light infantry' troops (Jp. *sanpei* 散兵) – fast-moving, mobile groups of soldiers that screened the larger infantry columns and were less vulnerable to artillery fire and better able to harass the enemy.[89] The shogunate was also training its troops in light infantry methods and so Masujirō's translation was a means for Chōshū to maintain technical and strategic parity.[90] According to eyewitness accounts, light infantry tactics were successfully employed by Chōshū troops in the battles of the Second Chōshū Expedition of 1865.[91] Scholars now argue that by the Boshin War (1868–9) final showdown of the Meiji Revolution, the forces of the shogunate and its allies more or less evenly matched the combined Chōshū–Satsuma armies in man- and firepower; it was in the area of battle tactics that the war was lost.[92] Translation, particularly of works to do with military strategy like Masujirō's *Introduction to Essential Battle Tactics*, was an important component of the reforms that led to the

86 Ogawa 1998, pp. 91–112. Masujirō was himself a talented and prolific translator of Western texts. See Itoya 1971.
87 *Manual for Naval Small Arms Drill* (*Kaigun jūsotsu renshū kiban*, 1848), *An Introduction to Essential Battle Tactics for Soldiers* (*Heika suchi sentōjutsu mon*, 1864), and *Complete Book of Artillery Practice* (*Hōhei sōren zensho*, 1857).
88 The translation was made from *Concise Summary of the Military Arts* (*Kort begrip der krijgskunst*, 1853) (Takemoto 2002, pp. 21–2). This work had been first published under a different title as *Kort begrip der Tactiek* in 1847 and again in 1848 (bibliographic details from Jaarboek van de Maatschappij der Nederlandse Letterkunde 1894, p. 304).
89 The compound is sometimes read as '*sappei*' by modern scholars. On the correct reading, see Yamamoto 2010, pp. 5–6.
90 On the shogunate light infantry, see Yamamoto 2010, p. 7.
91 On Masujirō's translation and the Chōshū tactics, see Itoya 1971, pp. 97–104. For a selection of eyewitness reports of Chōshū's use of light infantry, see Miyake 2008, pp. 44–7.
92 Noguchi 2002, p. 204.

strength and effectiveness of the Chōshū military against the shogunate forces.

Chōshū's allies, the Satsuma domain, also used translation in the late Tokugawa race for military supremacy, although the organized study of Western military matters in Satsuma did not have as long a history as it did in Chōshū. The feudal lords of Satsuma were interested in Dutch studies from the time of Shimazu Shigehide (1745–1833), one of the daimyo whose desire for Western knowledge earned him the label of a 'Dutch maniac' (*ranpeki* 蘭癖, lit. 'Dutch disease'), but the focus of Satsuma interest was medicine and the natural sciences until the Anglo-Satsuma War of 1863 brought home the need to study Western military technologies. In addition to purchasing three steamships from the British, in 1864 Satsuma officials also established the Kaiseijo 開成所 school for the systematic study of Western military works.[93]

In contrast to the more unified approaches of Chōshū and Satsuma, the shogunate continued to vacillate between support for Western military technology and ineffective periods of neglect throughout the late 1850s and early 1860s.[94] In 1854 the shogunate established the Military Training Academy (Kōbusho 講武所) and, as previously noted, in 1855 the translators in the Bureau of Astronomy were moved to the Office of Western Studies, which was established to meet the linguistic needs occasioned by the opening of Japanese ports in the wake of Perry's arrival.[95] However, in effect it was not until the reforms by the shogunate between 1862 and 1866, during which time the Military Training Academy (now rebranded as the Army Academy or Rikugunsho 陸軍所) began seriously to adopt Western techniques and even Western instructors, that the gap was narrowed.[96]

The contrast between the shogunate, which was beset by conflict and inefficiencies, and the Chōshū domain's systematic investigation and adoption of Western military technology shows that translation was a factor in the outcome of the Meiji Revolution, when Chōshū and Satsuma forces were victorious. With the benefit of hindsight it is clear

[93] On the historical development of Dutch studies in Satsuma, see Tamura 2004. For the Kaiseijo, see pp. 225–7.

[94] Totman 1980, pp. 180–6.

[95] This office was incarnate under many different names over the years as its functions developed. After 'Yōgakusho' it became 'Bansho Shirabesho' 蕃書調所 (Office for the Inspection of Barbarian Books), then 'Yōsho Shirabesho' 洋書調所 (Office for the Inspection of Western Books), followed by 'Kaiseijo' 開成所 (Office for Enlightenment), and eventually became what is now the University of Tokyo.

[96] Kumazawa 2001. For an overview of the Western military works translated by the shogunate from the mid 1860s onwards, see Asakawa 2006, pp. 4–10. This work also details some of the domain-sponsored translations.

that the shogunate failed to make the most of the translation resources that could have been at its disposal had Tadakuni's suggestions been followed earlier. Half a century's head start that had begun with the building of a stable of translators in Edo at the Bureau of Astronomy was squandered by internal strife and the lack of a consistent vision.

## Chinese works in late Tokugawa Japan

As the details above show, a belief that the translation of Western texts was a necessary component in domestic reform and defence existed in Japan prior to the Meiji period. Indeed, late Tokugawa Japan, from roughly the 1840s onwards, saw the beginnings of the 'translate or perish' mentality that is usually considered one of the characteristics of Meiji translation. Much of the damage vis-à-vis translation of military matters had already been done by the time shogunate officials, in the wake of Perry's arrival, realized the need for concentrated and systematic official support for translation of strategically useful information about the West and Western technologies. However, their change in attitude did have significance for the kinds of works that began circulating more widely in translation in Japan. The mid-nineteenth century saw an increase in the numbers of Chinese works in Sinitic either written by Westerners with the help of translators in China, or translated from Western sources that were available in Japan. The increase was due both to a relaxing of trade restrictions and regulations in Japan and to the return of missionaries to China, which occurred during roughly the same period.[97] As with the case of Western-language works, the shogunate's attitude towards the translation and circulation of information gleaned from Chinese works changed over the years in response to internal politics and the need to allow information to circulate for the purposes of control.

As we have seen, from the expulsion of the missionaries from Japan in the seventeenth century until the Opium War in the middle of the nineteenth, it was Dutch texts, rather than Chinese, that formed the main focus of enquiry for those interested in studying the West in Japan. This was partly because shogun Tokugawa Yoshimune's edict lifting the ban on the importation of texts written and translated by the Jesuits in China coincided with a period of Jesuit persecution in Qing China, which meant that fewer texts were produced by the missionaries. This state of affairs continued until the years following the Opium War when the British victory opened the door for Protestant missionaries, who began producing

[97] On the normalization of diplomatic relations between China and Japan, see Fogel 2009, pp. 51–66.

Chinese translations and original Chinese-language works of Western learning in great numbers.[98] Under the direction of Walter Medhurst (known in Chinese as Mai Dusi 麥都思), and with the help of educated Chinese assistants, the London Missionary Society Press (*Mo hai shu gan* 墨海書館) in Shanghai produced 150,000 copies of a Chinese-language translation of the Bible and distributed 171 translated missionary tracts, mathematical, scientific, and medical texts in literary Sinitic to the public.[99]

Furthermore, the number of works arriving in Japan had also been susceptible to changes in the trading environment and trade regulations, since those Chinese texts which came to Japan in the period prior to the reopening of Chinese ports following the Opium War did so via trading vessels.[100] In the eighteenth century, the shogunate had introduced a series of edicts restricting trade in order to stop the outflow of precious metals from Japan. The *New Shōtoku-era Edict* (*Shōtoku shinrei* 正徳新令), issued in 1715, meant that the number of Chinese vessels was limited to thirty per year, and, after a brief increase, in 1742 it was further reduced to ten per year.[101] The contents of trade cargo also influenced the timing and kinds of texts that came to Japan from China. The most important trade was in copper, and, as the modern scholar Ōba Osamu notes in his magnum opus, the two Chinese provinces – Jiangsu and Zhejiang – from which vessels set sail to collect Japanese copper, were from the early Qing dynasty the core of the publishing industry in China.[102] Later, however, when the Taiping rebels occupied the city of Nanjing in 1853, they caused the collapse of the copper trading houses and the subsequent destruction of the traditional route by which Chinese books had been transmitted to Japan.[103]

It was around this time that Shanghai was rising to prominence as a port and the visit of Perry had opened up other trade routes to Japan. With growing numbers of merchant vessels, mail boats, warships, and steamers in East Asian waters, from the latter half of the 1850s a transportation and communications network developed with Shanghai at the centre.[104] The importance of Shanghai was further solidified when, in

98 Liu 2000, p. 56. In English, see Liu 2009a.
99 On the translational activities of the London Missionary Society Press, see Liu 2000, pp. 75–93.
100 The authority on the importation of Chinese books during the Tokugawa period is Ōba Osamu: Ōba 1967, 1984. See also Kornicki 1998, pp. 277–300. Further background information and case studies of Western works in Chinese brought to Japan during this period is available in Masuda 1979.
101 Ōba 1984, p. 22.
102 Ōba 1967, pp. 209–28.
103 Liu 2000, p. 70, 2009c, p. 76.
104 Liu 2000, pp. 73–4. On the Japanese community in Shanghai, 1862–95, see Fogel 2009, pp. 67–99.

the 1870s, a submarine telegraph cable between Nagasaki and Europe was laid with a stopover point in Shanghai. The volume of news transmitted through this new network was far greater than that which had been brought to Japan by the Chinese trading vessels in the past. As Liu puts it: 'Not only in quantity but in quality as well, an immense change transpired. As concerned the history of Sino-Japanese cultural interactions, the area of Zhapu which by now boasted a two-century history came to an end, and the era of Shanghai had at last arrived.'[105] Following the arrival of Perry in 1853 and the Ansei Treaty of 1858, a free trading system emerged in which many different kinds of ships travelled between China and Japan.[106]

In the years that followed the opening of Japanese ports the routes by which Chinese works arrived in Japan were so varied and largely unregulated that it is impossible to tell with any degree of certainty how many Chinese books came to Japan. Liu surmises that the numbers were great: letters written by the early missionaries in Japan suggest, for example, that they sold hundreds, in some cases even thousands, of Chinese-language works to 'members of elite Japanese society'.[107]

Anxiety on the part of Japanese Buddhists also suggests that a significant number of missionary texts were arriving and circulating in Japan.[108] In a lecture entitled *Plan to Attack the Heterodox and Defend the Faith* (*Hekijagohō saku*, 1863) Higuchi Ryūon, a member of the Ōtani branch of New Pure Land Buddhism, lamented the 'great number' of missionary works in circulation, many of which, he claimed, 'have been officially reprinted [by the shogunate]'.[109] The success of such works and the reason for their official reprints lay in the fact that they did not specifically contain Christian doctrine but instead provided information on the outside world for the educated classes of Japanese readers increasingly hungry for such information.[110]

105 Liu 2009b, p. 78. Zhapu was a port located in the present-day city of Pinghu, Zhejiang Province.
106 Liu 2000, p. 95. 107 Liu 2000, pp. 97–8.
108 Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyōkai 1953, pp. 132–3.
109 Liu 2000, p. 99. English translation from Liu 2009c, p. 129.
110 Influential Chinese works brought to Japan following the Opium war included: *Illustrated Gazetteer of Maritime Nations* (*Haiguo tuzhi*, 1842, 50 fascicles; revised and reprinted in 60 fascicles, 1847, and 100 fascicles, 1852) by Wei Yuan (1794–1857), which is discussed below; *Record of Things Seen and Heard among the Maritime Countries* (*Haiguo wenjian lu*, 1730), a travel record, brought to Japan in 1844; *Brief Notes on Great Britain* (*Yingjili jilüe*, 1841), which was based on other works including Wei Yuan's *Short Account of Great Britain* (*Yingjili xiaoji*, 1840) and was reprinted with Japanese punctuation in 1853, shortly before Perry's arrival; and *Brief Survey of the Maritime Circuit* (*Yinghuan

### *A useful source of information about the West:* Illustrated Gazetteer of Maritime Nations

The most widely read and translated of the Chinese works that came to Japan following the Opium War was *Illustrated Gazetteer of Maritime Nations* (*Haiguo tuzhi*, 1842–52) in Sinitic by Wei Yuan (1794–1856). In his introduction Wei wrote that his aim was to 'discuss the West using Westerners' and with the exception of comparative extracts from Chinese history and some discussion sections, most of the content of *Illustrated Gazetteer* is taken from translations of Western texts.[111] Wei saw gathering information about the West as a means to help those who wished to curtail Western influence in China and called for an office of translation to be established. *Illustrated Gazetteer* was originally based on the text of *Geography of the Four Continents* (*Sizhou zhi*, 1839), itself a classical Chinese translation of excerpts from *An Encyclopaedia of Geography* (1834) by the Scotsman Hugh Murray (1779–1846), which was ordered by the Chinese official Lin Zexu and completed by Lin Zexu's interpreter Liang Jinde (1820–62).[112] Lin had been appointed as Commissioner to Guangzhou by the Qing Emperor in 1839 to wipe out the illegal trade in British opium; during this tenure he sponsored a number of translations, including *Geography of the Four Continents*, in order to learn about his Western enemies.[113] In *Illustrated Gazetteer*, Wei, who was Lin's subordinate and friend, added to the text of *Geography of the Four Continents* using the work of earlier Jesuits and newly arrived protestant missionaries. In the expanded and revised editions of *Illustrated Gazetteer*, Wei added to the text with further translated extracts from other Chinese works by European authors.

The first official record of *Illustrated Gazetteer* arriving in Japan is of three copies which came in the cargo of a Chinese merchant ship in 1852, nearly ten years after it was printed in China.[114] This was a much later arrival in Japan than another work by Wei, *A Record of Our August Dynasty's Military Conquests* (*Shengwu ji*, 1842), an account of the Qing emperors, which arrived only two years after it was printed in China. The delay in *Illustrated Gazetteer*'s case was no doubt due to the references to Christianity it contained, and indeed the second round of copies of *Illustrated Gazetteer* recorded as arriving in Japan was confiscated for this reason.[115] Two copies were sent from the shogunate office in Nagasaki

*zhilüe*, 1848), which came to Japan slightly later in 1859, and was compiled with the assistance of Rutherford Alcock (1809–97) and James Hepburn (1815–1911). Liu 2000, pp. 64–5. In English, see Liu 2009a, pp. 72–3.

[111] Agawa 2011a, pp. 1–6.

[112] On the relationship between *Illustrated Gazetteer of Maritime Nations* and *Geography of the Four Continents*, see Shimokōbe 2000, 2001a, 2001b.

[113] Wong 2005, pp. 112–13. [114] Ōba 1967, p. 565. [115] Ōba 1967, p. 568.

(*Nagasaki bugyō* 長崎奉行): one to the shogunate Library in Edo (*Gakumonjo* 学問所) and one to Makino Tadamasa (1799–1858), a member of the shogunate's Council of Elders, who was responsible for foreign affairs and defence. However, there is no evidence of how these copies were used, if at all.[116] Imported copies remained in official hands until 1854, when restrictions on the importation of books containing mention of Christianity were relaxed following the Kanagawa Treaty (*Nichibei washin jōyaku* 日米和親条約).[117] In this year fifteen copies of *Illustrated Gazetteer* arrived on a Chinese ship that docked at Nagasaki, eight of which made their way into the hands of commercial booksellers.[118]

Since it was written in literary Sinitic, for Japanese with higher levels of education *Illustrated Gazetteer* represented a much easier means of access to information about the West than Western-language texts, and thus it was reprinted many times in Japan. Just two years after its arrival, there were already at least seven different partial reprints with *kundoku* annotations, and fourteen partial translations in print.[119] Four of these *kundoku* annotated editions were in fact newly edited versions of *Illustrated Gazetteer* completed by the sinologist Shionoya Tōin (1809–67) together with the Dutch expert Mitsukuri Genpo, a collaboration in which Tōin affixed the *kundoku* markers and Genpo edited the text for mistaken information.[120] Printed between 1854 and 1856, these four newly edited editions covered the sections in *Illustrated Gazetteer* that dealt with the Chinese coast, Prussia, Russia, and England, demonstrating what countries were of most interest to the shogunate at the time. According to the preface to the 1854 edition, the project had been commissioned by Kawaji Toshiakira (1801–68), then commissioner of finance (*kanjō bugyō* 勘定奉行) and responsible for coastal defence. Kawaji considered the work 'a useful book' (*yūyō no sho* 有用之書), and probably hoped that it would help Japan defend itself from the West.[121]

In addition to the *kundoku* annotated versions, between 1854 and 1855 there were fourteen partial, looser translations of *Illustrated Gazetteer*.[122] These translations, which were referred to most commonly as *wage* 和解 (Japanese interpretations), were rendered in simple scholarly Japanese either in a mixture of Sinitic characters and square kana or in Sinitic characters and cursive kana. This number also includes a translation by Hattori Munetaka (dates unknown) that he described as a '*kun'yaku*'

[116] Minamoto 1993, pp. 17–18.
[117] Minamoto 1993, p. 18. Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyōkai 1953, p. 138 suggests that other copies may have been circulating secretly prior to this.
[118] Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyōkai 1953, p. 138.
[119] Agawa 2011b.
[120] Kaikoku Hyakunen Kinen Bunka Jigyōkai 1953, pp. 140–2.
[121] Mitsukuri 1854, vol. I, 5r.
[122] Agawa 2011b, pp. 15–30.

version; unlike the *kun'yaku* translations discussed in Chapter 3, in which the source text was annotated with *kundoku* markers and additional translated glosses beside the characters, Munetaka's was a transcription into Sinitc characters and square kana of the *kundoku* rendering, with kana glosses on the characters.[123] Little is known of any of the translators, and their entries in the latest edition of the bibliographic database *Nihon kotenseki sōgo mokuroku* records only the *Illustrated Gazetteer* translations in their name.[124]

Works like Wei's *Illustrated Gazetteer* and the way they were used in nineteenth-century Japan challenge the received wisdom about the role of translation in Chinese and Japanese paths to modernity. In their introduction to Meiji translation and the companion volume of interviews in which they discuss the project, the modern scholars Maruyama Masao and Katō Shūichi construct a view of nineteenth-century translation practices in which Japanese wisdom and success in translation is contrasted with Chinese indifference. In this version of history, Japan realized it had to translate or perish; China, on the other hand, was used to being the centre of its known cultural universe and in failing to translate Western works failed to fend off European nations and modernize.[125] 'Japan' and 'China' are personified as single and unified agents, Japan active and China passive. Maruyama and Katō do acknowledge Wei and the activities of individual scholars like him, but claim the official response failed because there was (supposedly) no office for the translation of Western books established in Qing China.[126] However, in the middle of the nineteenth century the approach of both nations to translation at a central-government level bear striking similarities. Both were hampered by political strife: Lin Zexu, the Commissioner of Guangzhou who had advocated translation of Western materials, was only able to do so for the length of his tenure, after which, with the defeat of China in the first Opium War, he was blamed for mishandling the foreigners, and sent into exile. Moreover, his translation work was criticized by his successor as spying on the barbarians, an act out of keeping with the dignity of an Imperial Commissioner and a disgrace to the Empire.[127] The calls from his subordinate Wei Yuan for translation as a means to know the enemy went unheard until 1862, after the second Opium War, when a school for Western language learning was set up in Beijing – the Tongwen Guan 同文館. Likewise, as we have seen in this chapter, when it comes to translation 'Japan' was by no means unified in approach and the shogunal government response was hampered

[123] Hattori 1855. [124] *Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku* .
[125] Maruyama and Katō 1991, pp. 334–45, Maruyama and Katō 1991, pp. 5–8.
[126] Maruyama and Katō 1991, p. 344. [127] Wong 2005, p. 113.

by inefficiency and personal rivalry for much of the first half of the nineteenth century, including during both Opium Wars in China. It was individual scholars and certain domain governments who early on established successful translation regimes in Japan with a strategic view to managing the Western threat. The shogunal government only began to catch up in 1855 when the Office for Western Studies was established. Moreover, much of the material about the West that was circulating in Japan during the mid-nineteenth century onwards and which later contributed to what is seen as Japanese 'success' vis-à-vis European powers in East Asia owes a debt to Chinese translators like Wei who rendered Western texts into literary Sinitic, which could be read by Japanese scholars.

### *Shogunal control of translated information following Perry's arrival*

Once shogunate officials became convinced of the benefits of systematically translating information about the West, the ways in which translated information was controlled changed. In contrast to previous centuries, when Western knowledge gleaned through the efforts of official translators had circulated only among high officials or had been closeted away within the shogunal library, in the 1850s and 1860s the shogunate sponsored the translation and publication of Western-language newspapers and the reprinting of Chinese-language translations of Western papers with *kundoku* annotations. This represented a dramatic change in official policy, one in which shogunate officials, no longer able to stem the flow of foreign works due to the opening of new trade routes, attempted instead to control the kind of information that was available.

Until 1871, when Reuters offices were established in Nagasaki and Yokohama, the main source of foreign news in Japan was Western- and Chinese-language papers. These were brought by passengers on the increasing number of foreign ships that visited Japan, or, as was the case with *The Java Gazette (Javasche Courant)*, discussed below, presented to the shogunate by the Dutch in lieu of the yearly reports (*fūsetsugaki* 風説書) they had submitted previously. Higuchi Ryūon, the monk who had lamented the arrival of so many missionary-sponsored Chinese language books above, also reported that a single issue of the missionary newspaper *News from Chinese and Foreign Gazette* (*Zhongwai xinbao*, published from 1858) as well as 'news reports' (*fusetsugaki* 風説書) on countries overseas were selling several hundred copies in Japan each year.[128] Some of these copies were undoubtedly manuscripts. Manuscript copies of the Chinese

[128] Liu 2000, p. 99. English translation from Liu 2009c, p. 129.

papers, in particular, circulated among officials and literati. Two volumes of *Collected News from Near and Far* (*Xiaer guanzhen*), published by the London Missionary Society Press, for example, were brought to the Ryukyu Islands by a passenger on one of Perry's ships in 1854, and passed from there to Satsuma. Records of correspondence belonging to Katsu Kaishū (1823–99), who was instrumental in the foundation of the modern Japanese navy, and to the scholar-ideologue Yoshida Shōin (1830–59), show that they both had read it, and by 1858, a copy was to be found in the collection of Iwase Tadanari (1818–61), the administrator for foreign affairs (*gaikoku bugyō* 外国奉行).[129]

Moreover, during the 1850s and 1860s there were seven official translations of such newspapers printed by the shogunate's Office for the Investigation of Barbarian Books, or its later incarnations, and published in Edo: three translated from *The Java Gazette* (*Javasche Courant*) into simple academic Japanese written in a mixture of Sinitic characters and cursive kana, and four reprinted from Chinese-language papers with *kundoku* annotations affixed to the literary Sintic source.[130] These are detailed in Table 8.

The contents of *Official Printing of the Batavia News*, *Official Printing of Foreign News*, and *Supplementary Official Printing of Foreign News* came from Western-language sources. *Official Printing of the Batavia News* was based on *The Java Gazette*, which was printed in Batavia by the Dutch colonial administration.[131] The Chinese-language publications were originally printed in China by various missionary presses. *Official Printing of the Chinese and Foreign Gazette*, for example, was a reprint of the 1859–1861 editions of *The Chinese and Foreign Gazette*, which had been established in Ningbo in 1854 by the doctor Daniel Jerome MacGowan (1815–93) and from 1858 was edited by the American Presbyterian missionary Elias B. Inslee.[132] *Official Printing of the Hong Kong News* reproduced sections of *The Hong Kong News*, the literary Chinese version of the English newspaper the *Daily Press*. As these newspapers were written in literary Sinitic, the Japanese reprint simply

[129] Liu 2000, pp. 95–6.

[130] Unless otherwise indicated, the information in this section comes from Fukui 1985, pp. 218–29 and Kitane 1986. Studies on the early history of Japanese newspapers may be found in Haruhara 1974, pp. 7–37 and Suzuki 1959, pp. 94–160. In English, see also Hoare 1975 and Asakura 1990. In addition to shogunate-sponsored translations, there were several newspapers printed in Japanese by private individuals which also drew upon foreign-language sources.

[131] Bibliographical data for these publications is sometimes scant, but has been gleaned from Kitane 1986 and Haruhara 1974.

[132] *Official Printing of the Batavia News* is available in facsimile reprint in Kitane 1986, vol. I.

Table 8 *Newspapers translated by the Office for the Investigation of Barbarian Books*[133]

| Title | Source text | Coverage | Date printed in Japan |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Official Printing of Essays on the World* (*Kanpan rokugōsōdan*) | *Essays on the World* (*Liuhe congtan*) | Printed once a month from Jan. 1857–May 1858 | Undated colophon (probably 3–6 months after Chinese printing) |
| *Official Printing of Chinese and Foreign Gazette* (*Kanpan chūgai shinpō*) | *Chinese and Foreign Gazette* (*Zhongwai xinbao*) | 15 Nov. 1858–1 Jan. 1861 | Undated colophons (probably 3–6 months after Chinese printing) |
| *Official Printing of The Hong Kong News (Kanpan Honkon shinbun)* | *Hong Kong News* (*Xianggang xinwen*) | Bunkyū 1 Dec.–Bunkyū 2 1862. The kanbun version of the *Daily Press* printed in HK | |
| *Official Printing of the Chinese and Foreign News (Kanpan chūgai zasshi )* | *Chinese and Foreign News* (*Zhongwai zazhi* ) | Bunkyū 2 Jun.–Nov. 1862 | |
| *Official Printing of the Batavia News* (*Kanpan Batabia shinbun*) | *Javasche Courant* | 31 Aug.–16 Nov. 1861 (31 issues) | 1st and 2nd month, 1862 |
| *Official Printing of Foreign News* (*Kanpan kaigai shinbun*) | *Javasche Courant* | 1 Jan.–29 Jan. 1862 (9 issues) | 8th and 9th month, 1862 |
| *Supplementary Official Printing of Foreign News* (*Kanpan kaigai shinbun besshū*) | *Javasche Courant* | Mar.–Jun. 1862. | Undated colophon |

reproduced sections of the Chinese text with *kundoku* annotations affixed.[134]

These shogunate-sponsored translations and reprints were published and sold by Yorozuya Heishirō (1817–94), the owner of the Rōsōkan bookstore in Edo. Heishirō (also known as Fukuda Takanori), became the son-in-law and heir (*yomemuko* 嫁婿) of the Yorozuya family fuel business,

133 Kitane 1986, vol. I.
134 e.g., *Official Printing of Chinese and Foreign Gazette* (reprinted in *Chūgai shinpō* 1858–61).

and worked as an official (*goyō gakari* 御用掛) for the Office for the Investigation of Barbarian Books, a Sea Defence Officer (*kaibōgata* 海防方), and as a public official (*kōyōnin* 公用人) for the Kanazawa domain.[135] He also wrote Chinese poetry under the pen-name *Meiga* 鳴鵞 and his bookstore in Edo published works on medicine, geography, and natural history in addition to the official publications. Throughout the Tokugawa period, shogunate-sponsored print runs were distributed in this way through commercial networks by making the carved blocks available to publishers in return for a fee.[136]

The contents of these translations and reprints were carefully selected foreign news items as well as information on Western science and literature. In translating and allowing the circulation of such information, the shogunate was attempting to satisfy people's curiosity; however, by selecting what information was publicly available, officials were at the same time attempting to control the flow. For example, as part of their proselytization efforts, the missionary papers printed information on Western science and literature in order to demonstrate the advances made by Christian society. Such information was included in the Japanese reprinting but all references to Christianity were cut.[137]

A similar combination of the official and the commercial may be observed in Japanese translations from foreign newspapers in the years that followed. The official from the Office for the Investigation of Barbarian Books responsible for these translations, Yanagawa Shunsan (1832–70), together with his team of official translators, formed the Translation Society (*Kaiyakusha* 会訳社), a kind of lending library in which their official translations circulated outside official channels in manuscript form among fee-paying members.[138] Shunsan, who had studied Dutch and was literate in English and French, was the translator of works on Western medicine, military technology, and science. From 1863 to 1867, Shunsan oversaw the translation of several Western-language newspapers printed in Japan.[139]

Officially, these translations, which were written in simple academic Japanese, both in cursive kana/Sinitic characters and square kana/Sinitic characters, were circulated in manuscript form as circular notices (*kairan* 回覧) among senior shogunate officials. A manuscript copy of one, bears the official seals of six Senior Elders and four Junior

135 Kodansha 2001a.
136 On official publishing in the Tokugawa period, see Fukui 1985 and Kornicki 1998, pp. 143–9.
137 Liu 2000, p. 104 and Fukui 1985, p. 223.
138 Osatake 1934, pp. 8–12.
139 For a list of works attributed to Shunsan, including translations, see his entry in *Nihon kotenseki sōgō mokuroku*.

Elders (*wakadoshiyori* 若年寄).[140] Unofficially, however, these translations were available through the Translation Society for a fee. Demand was high: the initial borrowing rules had to be amended to shorten the loan period, and a further amendment reads 'Though we would like to offer up these [translated] newspapers to officials [for free], we regret that our resources do not reach this far. We politely request that you join our society under the aforementioned conditions.'[141] The 'officials' referred to here are clearly of a more junior rank than the Senior Elders and Junior Elders who would have been the official recipients of the translations on their completion by the Office for the Investigation of Barbarian Books.

That the shogunate tolerated the distribution of these official translations through private commercial networks demonstrates that though an important reason for sponsoring translation was to keep senior officials informed of the latest international news, there was the added bonus of being able to satisfy the desire of scholars and lower-ranking officials for news about the outside world, and to shape the news to which they had access. In this, the shogunate's approach was much like the *A New Compendium for Health* translation project of the 1810s, discussed above, in which talented translators were given access to the source-text encyclopaedia to keep them occupied and to satiate some of their curiosity for outside information.

Publishing the later, newspaper translations as official publications or allowing their circulation, as in the case of the Translation Society, was also an attempt to control what information was in the public domain. Significantly, the translators of the Translation Society also secretly compiled *Verdant Thicket of News* (*Shinbun kaisō*), a collection of extracts from shogunate documents, private correspondence, and the more sensitive sections of the foreign newspapers that they had been commissioned to translate, but which could not be circulated publicly. These extracts were mainly concerned with domestic politics, particularly the Chōshū Expeditions of 1864 and 1866, and could never have circulated in public at a time when the dissemination of domestic news was proscribed. The sensitive contents of *Verdant Thicket of News* meant that it circulated with utmost secrecy and indeed remained unknown to historians until a manuscript copy was discovered by scholars in 1926.[142]

140 Osatake 1934, p. 9. 141 Osatake 1934, p. 12.
142 This work is reprinted in Meiji Bunka Kenkyūkai 1968.

## Conclusion

The first half of the nineteenth century saw a change in the kinds of texts translated in Japan and in official sponsorship of translation. As seen in the previous chapter, Dutch studies translators had initially worked as private scholars and doctors, or as official medics for the various domains. When, at the end of the eighteenth century, the need for translation arose in connection with calendrical reform, the astronomy officials increasingly required Dutch-language skills and in early decades of the nineteenth century the bureau became the home of a number of Dutch studies scholars and former Nagasaki interpreters, as the shogunate, prompted by skirmishes with Russia and the Phaeton incident, began building up a stable of language experts in Edo.

However, shogunate efforts in the field of translation were sporadic and beset by inefficiencies caused by political machinations. Instead it was certain of the domains that were able to get a head start in matters of translation. Chōshū was particularly successful in establishing a series of institutions and translation programmes from the 1840s well into the Meiji period. This head start in the translation of Western military works contributed to the domain's military preparedness and undoubtedly had an effect on the outcome of the Meiji Revolution of 1868.

It was not until the 1850s, specifically after Perry's visit, that the shogunate established the Office for Western Studies, and began translating Western works in earnest. The period also coincided with a huge increase in the numbers of classical Chinese translations of Western works available in Japan. Newly opened trade routes meant more works in Western languages were becoming widely available in Japan than ever before. As the example of the early Western-language and Chinese-language newspapers translated and published by the Office for the Investigation of Barbarian Books shows, the shogunate, which had previously kept the products of translation largely secret, now attempted at least partly to satisfy people's curiosity for information about the West, and to shape the kind of information to which they had access. Significant moves towards Meiji translation had begun.

# Conclusion

This study has explored several distinct translation traditions in Tokugawa Japan, asking three broad questions: what was translated? By whom were translations made? And in what manner? The idea behind asking these questions of works translated from Sinitic texts, classical Japanese, and Western languages has been to address the compartmentalized nature of studies to date, which have either overlooked the importance of Tokugawa translation, or examined it in isolation within only one of these 'cultures of translation'.[1] It is therefore necessary to bring the findings for these linguistically separate translation traditions together and consider their combined implications for the study of Tokugawa history and literature.

## What was translated?

As Peter Burke has pointed out, for the cultural historian translation reveals with particular clarity what one culture finds of interest in another.[2] Far from being isolated, growing numbers of readers in Tokugawa Japan found much to interest them in a wide variety of source languages and fields of study. Translations were made from languages that may be broadly classified as Chinese, Japanese, or Western. They included different registers of Sinitic writing – both literary and vernacular – classical Japanese, Dutch, Russian, English, French, Latin, and Manchu. The subject matter of these translations ranged from fiction, poetry, and history, to geography, 'natural philosophy', maths, and medicine, though the topics of those texts that were subject to translation varied greatly by language, with only a minute number of translated Western-language works belonging to genres of fiction or poetry.

Broadly speaking, what was translated was usually dictated by scholarly interest, by hopes of commercial gain, or by both these factors.

[1] Burke 2007, p. 20. [2] Burke, 2007, p. 20.

Commercial and scholarly motives may be observed in the case of translations from classical Japanese texts. Although elite commentarial traditions had involved elements of translation, during the Tokugawa period large-scale vernacular translations of classical Japanese works such as *The Tales of Ise* and *The Tale of Genji* were for the first time published in print. These were part of widening access to the Japanese classics. The translations of *The Tale of Genji* functioned on the one hand to entertain the reader and to sell books, and on the other, as a kind of substitute for traditional commentary, which was perceived as too difficult for less-educated readers to understand without the help of a teacher. It is significant that the classical Japanese source works translated in this way were possessed of a linguistic and conceptual complexity that required intralingual translation: no translations of simpler Heian texts such as *The Tosa Diary*, *The Sarashina Diary*, or *The Pillow Book* have thus far come to light, though parodic versions did exist. The vernacular translations for the commercial print industry were followed by translations of *Genji*, *Ise*, and *Poems Ancient and Modern* made as an exercise in scholarly exegesis, most notably Motoori Norinaga's *Telescope*, which inspired numerous imitators. For scholars like Norinaga who were increasingly aware of the way the Japanese language had changed over time, translation was an exciting new tool of exegesis, and an alternative to commentary.

In the case of Sinitic texts, the successful *Plenty of Teachers of the Classics* series, which included canonical works printed together with a translation in the form of a *kundoku* transcription and simple commentary, is a prime example of educational and economic motives for translation coinciding during the Tokugawa period. Throughout the period, translation in the form of *kundoku* annotation became increasingly important as an educational and interpretive tool for scholarly and less-educated readers alike, particularly when it came to canonical Chinese texts. Non-canonical Chinese texts, such as conduct books for women, on the other hand, could be translated using less-bound forms of translation for the edification of newly literate classes of reader, as in the case of Kitamura Kigin's *Biographies of Exemplary Women in Kana*.

In contrast, translations from Western languages, most notably Dutch, were weighted almost exclusively in favour of translation made for the purposes of scholarship – in the first instance, at least; financial gain might accrue later when one had become known as someone knowledgeable in Western matters. There were successful works produced for the commercial print industry, such as *Investigation of Reports about the Red Barbarians* of 1781. However, on current evidence, the vast majority of translations from Western languages were made for official eyes only,

or were closely guarded intellectual property in the fields of medicine, the natural sciences, and military strategy. Translation was also a technique for would-be scholars of Dutch to begin to study the language in the absence of primers and proper grammars. Unsurprisingly, scholarly translations from Dutch tended to circulate in manuscript within intellectual networks rather than the commercial print industry. The practice of 'secret transmissions' (*hiden*), in which highly prized knowledge was passed only from master to initiate, had long been a cornerstone of Japanese artistic and intellectual traditions, and Dutch studies was no exception. The importance of translation as intellectual property meant that although hundreds of Dutch titles were translated, the numbers of copies in circulation per translation were low. This stands in contrast to translations of Chinese or classical Japanese literary works produced for the commercial print industry, particularly classical Japanese texts, which represented a relatively small corpus of source works but one which circulated in greater numbers per title because they were printed for a wider audience.

Although medical translations were hugely important particularly in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when it comes to texts translated from Western languages, the picture which emerges is one in which historiographic and geographic works take their place alongside the better-known examples. Japanese works based upon Western sources dealing with European history, geography, and foreign affairs were equally as numerous as medical ones until the early decades of the nineteenth century, probably because by then the usefulness of Western medical knowledge for Japanese physicians, many of whom were also translators, was more widely recognized.

The nineteenth century also saw an increase in the number of translated works of Western military technology, though the translation of this kind of work under shogunate sponsorship was sporadic for much of the period, and it was certain domains, such as Chōshū, which initially had more organized programmes for the translation of Western texts relating to gunnery techniques, shipbuilding, and field medicine. Towards the end of the Tokugawa period, following the visits of Perry and Putyatin, the opening of new trade routes and the relaxation of laws prohibiting the importation of Christian books meant that literary Sinitic translations from the mainland, most notably *Illustrated Gazetteer of Maritime Nations* and translations produced by the London Missionary Society, became an important source of information on the West in Japan. Such works were increasingly available in China at the time because the British victory in the Opium War had opened the door for more missionaries to work in the country.

Indeed, the idea that China, unlike Japan, somehow failed to adopt a policy of translation and was thus surpassed by Western powers (and Japan), which has characterized certain narratives of translation's role in Japanese modernity has been shown to be misleading. In the middle of the nineteenth century the approach of both nations to translation at a central government level bear striking similarities. In both, officials who advocated translation of Western works were hindered by their political opponents. In the Japanese case it was not until the Office for Western Studies was established in 1855 that the shogunate began to make a concerted effort to translate Western military works for its own benefit after numerous fits and starts in the earlier half of the century. Moreover, as was the case with *Illustrated Gazetteer of Maritime Nations*, much of the material about the West that was circulating in Japan during the mid-nineteenth century onwards and which later contributed to what is seen as Japanese 'success' vis-à-vis European powers in East Asia owes a debt to Chinese translators who rendered western texts into literary Sinitic, which could be read by Japanese scholars.

In addition to reflecting what was of interest or importance to Japanese translators over time, what was translated also reflects what was available in Japan for translation in the first place. The decrees prohibiting Christianity, the censorship of Western-language works, and the vicissitudes of trading relations with China all had an impact on the kinds of works Japanese translators had to choose from. European historical contingencies were likewise a factor in what was translated from Western languages in Japan. Since the Dutch were prolific translators, a large percentage of the scientific, medical, historiographic, and geographic works brought to Japan by the representatives of the VOC and eventually translated by Japanese scholars were themselves Dutch translations from other European languages. The revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 is an example of a European event that affected the contours of Dutch studies in Japan: many of the translators of texts which were later important in Japan, such as François Halma's dictionary or the works of the French surgeon Ambroise Paré, fled to the Dutch Republic as a result of this upheaval. What was available in Japan was also affected by what the representatives of the VOC considered useful and brought with them, though official (and, doubtless, private) requests for books were made. The first Western-language works of astronomy encountered by the shogunal astronomy officials were works for a generalist audience that had been brought by the Dutch, such as Dutch translations of works authored by Benjamin Martin. As these were insufficiently detailed for the purposes of the astronomy officials, they later ordered more specialist works from the Dutch.

### *What was not translated?*

The question of what was not translated is also revealing. Prior to the modern period Japan had no large-scale religious vernacularization projects along the lines of sutra translation in China or translation of the Bible in Europe. The *kundoku* transcriptions of *The Essentials of Deliverance* and various kana versions of sutras associated with Pure Land Buddhism are indicative of proselytization methods that involved a certain degree of translation and simplification. However, these transcriptions, and the more common strategy of *kundoku* annotation which was applied to Buddhist texts, are several steps removed from the idea of a mirror-image vernacular substitute for a canonical Buddhist text. Rather, it seems to have been through oral explanation (doubtless involving vernacular translation or paraphrase) and *etoki* pictorial translation that Japanese Buddhists reached out to less-educated people. In contrast, monks were themselves content to approach sacred texts in Chinese with the aid of *kundoku* or recited them aloud using an approximation of the sounds of Chinese.

The absence of religious translation regimes in Japan is reflected in attitudes towards translation and in the terminology used to describe translation. In Europe, for instance, the history of Bible translation has left an indelible mark on the way translation is conceived of and described to the present day. Notions of the source text as sacred and untouchable, and the accompanying anxieties about tampering with sacred texts which have affected so much of European translation theory, are noticeably absent in Japan. Of course, this is not to suggest that the translation of the Bible was the only source of such concerns in Europe. Other factors such as the Roman tradition of translation as a grammatical exercise and notions of authorial genius and originality engendered by the Romantic movement doubtless also played a part in elevating the source text to untouchable status. The vocabulary of such concerns in Europe, however, was often closely linked to religious imagery, something not seen in Japan, suggesting that particular caution is needed when applying to the Japanese situation those European translation studies theories and discourses which draw upon such imagery and were shaped in part by the history of Bible translation.

Another notable absence in Japan is the translation of Western works of fiction prior to the Meiji period. There were some exceptions: the early Jesuit translations included *Aesop's Fables* and this work also appears to have been translated separately from another source and to have made its way in adapted form into the Japanese commercial print industry.[3] A more

[3] Kornicki 1998, p. 301. See also Watson 2006, pp. 11–12.

thorough study of reading practices, particularly the possible reading of fiction, among the kinds of people who worked for the VOC, as well as the works of fiction, if any, that they brought with them is necessary in order to fully answer the question of why Western fiction was for the most part not translated in early modern Japan: it may simply be the case that few works of fiction were brought to Japan. However, it is possible to make some tentative conclusions. One problem was most likely the possibility that narrative works might contain depictions and details of prohibited Christian practice and teaching. It also seems that Western fiction was not viewed as a potential source of literary models or inspiration during the Tokugawa period. Statements such as Ogyū Sorai's about foreigners speaking 'in incomprehensible words as distant from human sentiments as are the squawking of birds and the yelping of beasts' in contrast to the shared sensibility of Japanese and Chinese, suggest why this might have been so.[4]

The few exceptions where works of fiction were translated during the Tokugawa period after the expulsion of the missionaries mostly date from the middle of the nineteenth century. A translation of Defoe's *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* was printed in 1857,[5] and in 1861 the scholar bureaucrat Kanda Takahira (1830–98) translated two short detective stories from a Dutch collection, which he later published in 1891 under the title *A Dutch Record of Good Governance* (*Oranda bisei ryoku*). These translations date from after Perry's arrival and the shogunal government relaxation of rules governing the import of books. They point to the beginnings of the kind of translation more usually associated with the Meiji period, where works of fiction were translated in great numbers. Taken together with the official sponsorship and condoning of translation that is found in the late Tokugawa period, and which eventually saw official moves to use translation as a defensive tool for learning about the West, the appearance of translations of fiction suggest that 'Meiji translation' must be pulled backwards past 1868 to as early as the mid 1850s.

Moreover, these translations of fiction were most probably made for their factual content rather than their merits as literary models. In this too they share common features with a certain type of Meiji period translation. *Robinson Crusoe* seems to have been taken by the Japanese as a factual account, and the title of *A Dutch Record of Good Governance* suggests at least some of the reasons for the translation lay in what could be learned

[4] Pastreich 2001, p. 150.
[5] *Abbreviated Account of the Castaway Journeys of Robinson* (*Robinson hyōkōki ryaku*, 1857) by Yokoyama Yoshikiyo (1826–79).

about law, order, and criminal procedure in the West.[6] This was a trend that continued in the Meiji period. Many works of fiction were translated partly for their factual and educational content, such as Seki Naohiko's (1857–1934) translation of Disraeli's *Coningsby*. Kornicki argues that Seki 'saw in *Coningsby* a work which could help him in his self-appointed role as political educator' and that Seki translated *Coningsby* in such a way as to increase the work's education value for a Japanese audience.[7]

### *Translation balance of trade*

During the Tokugawa period, the translation 'balance of trade', as Peter Burke called it in the European context, was almost exclusively one way: from other languages into forms of language used in Japan.[8] There was, of course, a great deal of translation performed verbally by Nagasaki interpreters out of Japanese into Portuguese in the early decades of the seventeenth century, and then later from Japanese into Dutch. Students at von Siebold's Narutaki Academy also made translations into Dutch as part of their studies and in order to aid von Siebold's own research. There were also translations into literary as well as vernacular Sinitic, such as Okajima Kanzan's vernacular Chinese translation of the medieval Japanese military tale, *Taiheiki*.[9] However, these examples are relatively few. Moreover, it is significant that most written translations into languages other than Japanese were made for use in Japan rather than an international audience. Unlike the case of Latin in Europe, literary Sinitic never became the vehicle for a Republic of Letters in East Asia to the same extent: texts in both literary and vernacular Sinitic did circulate in the areas now known as Korea, Vietnam, and Japan, but with a few exceptions, in the case of Japan this was largely a one-way process. The reason why this was so has yet to be fully investigated, but is worthy of further attention.

## Who were the translators?

By whom were translations made? The answer to this question in Japan's early modern period is that in many cases they came from relatively humble backgrounds. Though there are exceptions, such as Hayashi Razan and Kitamura Kigin, important scholars rarely published translations during

[6] On the translation of *Robinson Crusoe*, see Matsuda 1998, pp. 165–242; on Takahira's translations, see Matsuda 2002.
[7] Kornicki 1984, pp. 41–6. [8] Burke 2007, p. 22.
[9] Nihon Kanbun Shōsetsu Kenkyūkai 2005.

the Tokugawa period. Even Ogyū Sorai, though he is famous today for advocating vernacular translation as a teaching method in the classroom, was himself reluctant to make translations or to render Chinese texts too easily accessible to the masses, instead advocating that the study of legal and philosophical texts be left to scholars and that scholars learn to read Chinese texts in the original where possible.

Those men – for no female translators have come to light in this study – who did translate and publish translations in print or manuscript came from geographical and social peripheries rather than the centre. Even Tage Hanshichi, the translator of *Murasaki's Writings in the Gibberish of Fisherfolk*, who was a moderately well-ranked retainer in the Yanagisawa household, from the available evidence seems to have spent his days in the provinces. The publication of his translation project petered out when the Yanagisawa were no longer shogunal favourites and their fief was moved to Yamato Kōriyama.[10] Many of the men who did translate, however, later moved from peripheral positions to important ones as a result of their translation work, and translation skills as a means to social mobility is one theme that has emerged across the different source languages and scholarly traditions examined in this monograph.

For example, Okajima Kanzan and his contemporary, Kuraoka Bunjirō (1679–1750), who were employed by the Yanagisawa salon to teach Chinese, both came from Nagasaki, probably from lower-ranking interpreter families, and had received at most a modest education in the Sinitic classics.[11] Yet their skills in spoken vernacular Chinese brought them to the highest echelons of political and intellectual society in Edo, the salon of Yanagisawa Yoshiyasu and the academy of Ogyū Sorai, where they worked as translators and teachers. Translation was likewise a means of social mobility for scholars of Dutch studies. Baba Teiyū, also a Nagasaki-based interpreter, was eventually employed as a translator by the shogunate and was granted samurai rank. Koseki San'ei also progressed from peasant origins to an official position by way of daimyo patronage, followed by that of the shogunate, because of his skills as a translator. It is also possible, though by no means certain, that Taga Hanshichi, who was awarded the relatively high rank of Commander of the Lances (*yaribugyō* 槍奉行), received this rank because he was valued for his literary talents, including his *Genji* translation.[12]

[10] Clements 2013, p. 23.
[11] On Bunjirō, see Ishizaki 1940, p. 54. Kodansha 2001c has an entry for one Kuraoka Sozan 鞍岡蘇山, whose other names match the names of Kuraoka Bunjirō. Although this dictionary lists Kuraoka as coming from Edo, this may be the same person.
[12] Clements 2013, pp. 23–4.

Translators were people who relied on their skills as a means of financial support and for the furtherance of their careers. The commercial author, Shishido Kōfū (known as Miyako no Nishiki), used translation strategies to write a new work that could be sold to readers eager for entertainment and information about *The Tale of Genji*. Kōfū also engaged in translation to show off his own abilities as a scholar and interpreter of *Genji*, and it is likely that these scholarly aspects of his work were a selling point for the publisher, Kawakatsu Gorōemon.[13] In Dutch studies, the case of Takano Chōei in particular reveals the central importance of translation in the financial and intellectual life of the Dutch studies scholars. Chōei was able to support himself in part through payment he received for translation in the form of cash, but also accommodation and meals. Later in his life, a fugitive Chōei received the protection of Date Munenari, Lord of Uwajima domain in Shikoku, because Munenari wanted to use Chōei's translation skills to study Western defence techniques.

It is also important to note the role of Nagasaki interpreters, who played a far greater part in scholarly translation, and indeed, in Dutch studies more generally, than historians have sometimes afforded them in the past. Not only were many of the major shogunal appointees to the offices of translation former interpreters, like Baba Teiyū, but many important translators outside state-sponsored translation were interpreters. Interpreters were also closely involved in intellectual and bibliographical exchanges with scholars that led to translations being produced, such as Imamura Eisei whom Arai Hakuseki relied upon to glean information about Western geography and history since he could not read Dutch himself, and Yoshio Kogyū whose copy of *Description of Russia* was sold to Maeno Ryōtaku.

### *Sponsorship and patronage*

In addition to the question of who translates, the identity of those who sponsored translation has also emerged as a significant factor. The question of patronage is revealing, particularly in relation to the translation of Western works during the first half of the nineteenth century. Prior to this, though the shogunate had sponsored translation within the Bureau of Astronomy, mainly for the purposes of calendar revision, the astronomy officials initially relied on the translation skills of Nagasaki interpreters. This changed in the early decades of the nineteenth century when, in

[13] Fujiwara 2002, p. 56. In English, see Clements 2013, pp. 19–20.

addition to the interpreters in Nagasaki, the shogunate began to build up a stable of translators in Edo who could deal with languages such as Russian, Manchu, and French in response to increasing contact with foreign vessels in Japanese waters. However, due to internal power struggles, shogunate-sponsored translation from Western works was sporadic until the 1850s, in contrast to the Chōshū domain, where a highly organized and systematic translation program flourished under the direction of Murata Kiyokaze, Aoki Shūsuke, and later, Ōmura Masujirō. Throughout the period other domains also supported the translation efforts of Dutch studies scholars who worked as domain medics, like Koseki San'ei, or scholars for hire, like Takano Chōei.

The situation with regard to sponsorship of intralingual translations from classical Japanese texts is less clear. This is due in part to the fact that much work is still to be done on the social history of publishing and publishers in Tokugawa Japan. In some cases research does exist, such as in the case of Kawakatsu Gorōemon, whose desire for scholarly-sounding works was behind Shishido Kōfū's reworking of *Genji*, as well as numerous other reworkings of older stories by Kōfū also. However, though extensive research exists on the Tokugawa book trade – prices, printing techniques, and so on – and there are studies of individual publishers, there is little comprehensive work on who the publishers were, how they interacted with each other, and how they commissioned works by their authors. This is a topic for future research.

Likewise, the sponsorship of translation from Sinitic, especially when *kundoku* annotation is included, is a vast topic. Research about the translators and publishers of commercial *tsūzoku* (i.e., 'popularized') works is hampered by similar ambiguities as to author and lack of information about publishers as the *Genji* translations. However, more is known about official sponsorship of translation from Sinitic, such as the translation of law codes and the ethical manual *Elucidation of the Six Instructions* under the orders of the shogun, Yoshimune, discussed in Chapter 3. An interest in the collection and printing of books had, for Yoshimune's forbear, Tokugawa Ieyasu, affirmed his fitness to rule in accordance with the sinological leanings of the new samurai élite at the time, and had been later taken up by the hagiographic tradition as evidence of his superhuman qualities.[14] It is likely that Yoshimune's own book acquisition as well as his sponsorship of the study and translation of law codes, moral works, and calendrical sciences was motivated at least in part by the desire to be (or to be seen to be) a good ruler.

[14] Kornicki 2008.

## What forms of translation were practised?

What forms of translation were practised during Japan's early modern period? With what intentions or strategies were translations undertaken?[15] The picture of translation in Tokugawa Japan that has emerged is one in which the act of translation was rarely conceived of as a stand-alone activity or an end in itself. The large number of terms describing translation practices during the period is indicative of this, and the terms themselves reflect the different ways in which translation was conceptualized and practised at the time. Although today the term most commonly used in Japanese to mean 'translation' is *hon'yaku*, this was not so during the Tokugawa period. Rather, a plethora of terms and the practices they described developed largely independent of one another in response to the needs presented by different textual situations, such as terms which developed within the context of reading practices (e.g., *kundoku*, 'reading by gloss'), scholarly composition (e.g., *yakujutsu*, 'translation with elaboration'), and creative rewriting (e.g., *kaki-utsusu*, 'to transfer by writing').

As for translation practices themselves, these were extremely varied. One of the most important was *kundoku* annotation and related methods. Throughout Japanese history including the Tokugawa period, *kundoku* annotations functioned simultaneously as commentary, as a 'reading' method for reciting Sinitic texts aloud, and as a type of highly bound, source-oriented translation, perhaps one of the most extreme examples of such a method in world translation history. The various *kundoku* systems, which came into use in the period before Japan had a writing system of its own, became established as an important means of approaching texts in literary Sinitic even after it was possible to translate more freely into the written Japanese language.

With a few exceptions *kundoku* was the translation strategy applied to the Five Classics and to 'Masters Literature'.[16] Though pre-modern Japan had no history of religious translation nor a movement which valorized the author's individual creative genius (such as the Romantic movement in Europe), the almost exclusive use of highly bound *kundoku* strategies with respect to canonical Chinese texts demonstrates that in circumstances where the source text was highly authoritative there was a similar reluctance to subject the source to interference. Though a more thorough study is necessary, it is significant in this respect that

[15] Burke, 2007, p. 16. The significance of the translator's purpose has been championed by skopos theorists, beginning with Reiss and Vermeer 1984 (in English, see also Vermeer 2004).

[16] Denecke 2010.

*kundoku* was also one of the main strategies applied to the translation of Chinese poetry.

In contrast, non-canonical Chinese works were subject to a wider variety of translation methods, including, but not limited to, *kundoku*. Throughout much of Japanese history, Chinese poetic, literary, and historical works were mined as a source of quotation, allusion, and inspiration for Japanese texts. Where this involved closer translation the methods used ranged from partial transcription of *kundoku* to loose renderings in classical Japanese (*wabun*). Popularized (*tsuzoku*) works, as well as Ming and Qing fiction, were also translated using *kundoku*, often in the form of *kun'yaku* versions in which, in addition to the usual syntactical annotations, difficult Chinese vernacular terminology was glossed with vernacular Japanese translations. Such works were also the subject of freer translation, usually into a mixture of square kana and Sinitic characters, involving *kundoku* transcription, freer translation, and occasionally retaining elements of the Chinese vernacular. These works also became the subject of even looser 'translations' in the form of adaptations in the *yomihon* tradition.

In Dutch studies, translation was likewise practised both as a close reading method and as a means of mining works for new material. As Ōtsuki Gentaku's *A Guide to Dutch Studies* demonstrates, word-for-word translation of Dutch texts was part of the education of a Dutch studies scholar, a means by which they read Western works and acquired the language skills necessary for their work. The most common method used when writing a Dutch studies translation for circulation in manuscript or print was less close, however, and involved looser rewordings in which the translators positioned themselves as scholarly mediator between the reader and the source text. Translations in Dutch studies are also distinguished by the prevalence of team translation projects. Dutch studies scholars collaborated privately on translation projects and those sponsored by the shogunate in particular often worked on translations as a team, the most famous example being *A New Compendium for Health*, in which a large number of prominent shogunate-sponsored Dutch studies scholars participated between 1811 and 1854.

With the currently available data it is not possible to know the target language of every translation from Dutch. However, one has a strong impression of a growing preference for simple scholarly Japanese written in a mixture of square kana and Sinitic characters, as opposed to literary Sinitic. There were a number of translations from Dutch into Sinitic, most famously *A New Treatise on Anatomy*, but this was not without its critics. Shiba Kōkan lamented the choice of literary Sinitic as the medium of translation in *A New Treatise on Anatomy* because the translators had

worked so hard only to produce something that few people could read.[17] Though questions of language choice in translation are related to larger, as yet unanswered, questions of language use in the Tokugawa period, it seems likely that, in the case of *A New Treatise on Anatomy*, the choice of literary Sinitic was in part an attempt at orthodoxy.[18] *A New Treatise on Anatomy* was the work of established Edo-based scholars who published their translation for a general audience of educated samurai, and went to great lengths to obtain the approval of the shogunate; it was not intended as a vernacularization for the man in the street. In fact, making even Chinese medical texts more readily understandable could be frowned upon. Few were translated in the strict sense of the word and commentary was the more usual approach.[19] Okamoto Ippō (1686–1754) was a prolific producer of simple Japanese explanations (known as *genkai*) of Chinese medical texts, written in cursive kana and Sinitic characters, who supposedly stopped writing them after being chided by his brother for endangering the lives of patients by making such texts available to uneducated people posing as doctors.[20] Such concerns may also have been behind the choice of literary Sinitic as the medium of translation in *A New Treatise on Anatomy* and a few other medical works in Dutch studies.

The other type of translation which came to prominence during the Tokugawa period as Japanese readers interacted with their own past is what may be termed 'intralingual' translation between classical Japanese and contemporary written forms of Tokugawa language. Because of the interconnectedness of Tokugawa Japanese with earlier forms of the language it is possible for a mixture of classical and contemporary usages to be present on the same page in the target text. In the popular publishing industry, authors such as Ihara Saikaku were developing the written contemporary language by incorporating both the sounds of contemporary speech and by mining classical works. Consistent with these trends, translators of classical Japanese texts often left behind vocabulary from the source text in their work, adding explanatory asides or notes, clarifying subject and object, and updating verb endings so as to be more intelligible to a contemporary audience.[21] Their translation strategies thus func-

[17] Screech 2002, p. 268, n. 104. See also Screech 1997, pp. 171–2.

[18] Questions such as the following, among others, are yet to be fully explored: what were the reasons for using square kana rather than cursive kana in a work? What factors governed the choice of *wabun* versus registers more strongly influenced by literary Sinitic (e.g., *kanbun kundoku tai*)?

[19] For a collection of Japanese-language commentaries on Chinese medical texts in the Tokugawa period, see Kosoto 1999.

[20] Fujikawa 1941, p. 292. This story may be apocryphal.

[21] For details, see Clements 2013 and the comparative extracts contained in Tables 3–5 of this monograph.

tioned as a kind of commentary which clarified the meanings of the source texts. In addition to this kind of intralingual transfer, some translators also used adaptive strategies, updating the fixtures of the Heian court with anachronistic Tokugawa items. These, and other translation strategies such as intersemiotic translation in the form of illustration, reflect the fact that many of these works were intended, to varying degrees, as both entertainment, and to be used as a commentarial way into the 'original' classic. They are part of the great shift in readership as formerly elite texts became available to new classes of literate readers during the early modern period.

## Continuities and discontinuities with Meiji translation

This study has focused on translation during the Tokugawa period; however, the centuries of Tokugawa rule were not hermetically sealed from what came afterwards. Though there is not space here to consider Meiji translation practices in detail, some striking continuities and discontinuities with the Tokugawa period have emerged. The common features between late Tokugawa translation and translation during the Meiji period, such as a growing interest in fictional works and a growing official recognition that translation was essential to the national interest, are examples of continuity that have been discussed above. Although the Meiji period is regarded as the time when much of Japan's modern language of science was formed through translation, many of the fundamentals in fact trace their roots to Tokugawa translators.[22]

Continuity may also be found in the institutions and personnel involved in translation during the late Tokugawa period, and who in many cases continued to produce translations during Meiji. The Office for Western Studies, which was founded in 1855, went through various changes in name and location in Edo, but continued to produce translations and to educate scholars in the study of Western materials well into the Meiji period, when it was initially known as the Kaisei gakkō 開成学校. This institution was then amalgamated with several other institutions to form the Imperial University, and later became the University of Tokyo.[23] Likewise, individual translators were active on both sides of 1868. Fukuzawa Yukichi is perhaps the most famous example of a translator (though he was more than this) who was educated during the Tokugawa period, but who produced numerous translations during Meiji. We have

[22] Montgomery 2000, pp. 229–32.
[23] On the history of these institutions, see Tōkyō Daigaku Hyakunenshi Henshū Iinkai 1984, pp. 3–352.

also seen how the former Nagasaki interpreter of Chinese, Tei Einei, who had produced translations from Manchu for the shogunate, was appointed to the new Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1869 and also continued to produce translations.

There were moreover scholarly dynasties, which were active in both the Tokugawa and Meiji periods in the field of translation. The renowned legal scholar Mitsukuri Rinsho (1846–97), who had been a member of the Office for the Investigation of Barbarian Books (originally, the Office for Western Studies) during the late Tokugawa period and during Meiji translated the French civil code for the new government, was the grandson of Mitsukuri Genpo, a famous and prolific Tokugawa-period translator, who had likewise been attached to the Office for the Investigation of Barbarian Books.[24]

Lastly, many translations dating from the Tokugawa period were reprinted during Meiji. The *Hiragana eiri kankaradaiko* 平仮名絵入咸唐題庫 series, in which Tokugawa translations of vernacular Chinese novels were serialized in pamphlet form is one example. The version of *Water Margin* (*Shuihu zhuan*) in this series was a reprint of parts of *A Popularized Water Margin* (1772–90).[25] Indeed, *Popularized Water Margin* was the main translation read in Japan until the middle of the twentieth century, because more than 90 per cent of Takizawa Bakin and Takai Ranzan's *Newly Edited Illustrated Tales from the Water Margin* (*Shinpen Suiko gaden*, 1805–38), the edition most widely read in Japan from the nineteenth to the middle of the twentieth century, was derived from the earlier translation.[26]

There are also notable discontinuities between Tokugawa and Meiji translation. The most striking is the huge increase in the numbers of translations from Western works of fiction that occurred in the Meiji period. The language of the works from which translations were made also shifted, from Dutch to other European languages such as English, Russian, and French, although there had been smaller numbers of translations made from these languages since the early years of the nineteenth century. A shift also occurred in official sponsorship of translation. Whereas the shogunate had serious difficulty in eventually establishing a systematic approach to the translation and investigation of foreign works until the 1850s, the new Meiji government, led by men from domains

[24] On Rinshō's legal translation and its Tokugawa antecedents, see Verwayen 1998.
[25] On this and other Meiji-era reprints of Tokugawa translations of *Water Margin*, see Takashima 2006, pp. 255–71.
[26] On the continuities between Tokugawa and Meiji fiction, see also Kornicki 1981.

such as Chōshū where translation had long been taken far more seriously, instituted the programme of translation and adoption of Western legal, military, and educational systems for which the Meiji period is well known.

## Translation and early modernity

Translation in Tokugawa Japan was linked to urbanization, rising literacy rates and the growth of a commercial press – factors which support Berry's characterization of the paradigm of early modernity as a useful 'blunt tool' for potentially revealing historiographic comparisons between Japan and other parts of the world.[27] When it comes to translation on this scale, an obvious point of comparison is the fact that translation was central to the great cultural movements of early modern Europe: the Renaissance, the Reformation, the Scientific Revolution, and the Enlightenment.[28] Thousands of translators were active in Europe between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries, producing works for the consumption of readers both scholarly and with lower levels of education.[29]

The Japanese awareness of temporality and the increasing importance of the vernacular, which led to translation in the Tokugawa period, are also reminiscent of developments during Europe's early modern period, and worthy of further consideration. Like late seventeenth- to early nineteenth-century Japanese Kokugaku, Renaissance humanism had seen a renewal of interest in classical texts and the study of linguistic change over time. Humanists were keenly aware of the differences between medieval Latin and, that of the ancient Roman writers, and, like many Japanese sinologist and Kokugaku scholars, made it a goal to rid their own writings of later infiltrations at odds with what they understood to be the classical language.[30] There was likewise an outpouring of treatises championing various European vernaculars, and an increase in translations into and between vernacular languages.[31] Reminiscent of the Kokugaku scholars in Japan, in England, Spenser called for a 'kingdom of our own language', and was one of a number of sixteenth-century writers working in the English vernacular who laid the discursive foundation for the nation state and nationalist modernity.[32]

There are of course significant differences between the roots of translation in early modern Japan and the European case (which is itself a complex web of different countries). Europe had the physical ruins of

[27] Berry 2012, p. 43.
[28] Burke 2007, p. 10. See the essays contained in Burke and Hsia 2007.
[29] Burke 2007, p. 11. [30] For an overview, see Jensen 1996.
[31] Burke 2004, pp. 61–88. [32] See Helgerson's wide-ranging study, 1992.

Rome, and the material remnants of classical culture were a major factor in the neo-classicism that fuelled historical interest in the Latin language as well as transforming the way the historical past was viewed.[33] Not so in Japan, where it was textual rather than material culture around which classical interest and temporal awareness was situated. It is, however, worth noting the importance of material culture in defining contrasts between native and foreign in Tokugawa Japan, particularly the interest in Dutch curiosities.

Another striking point of difference is that, unlike Japan, the overwhelming majority of translations made during Europe's early modern period were of religious texts. Neither the dissemination of biblical translations in Europe nor the dissemination of translations from classical Japanese or Chinese would have been possible without print, but the motives of the translators were very different. Moreover, any comparisons between classical culture in Europe and that of a country in East Asia must take note of the fact that unlike Latin, literary Sinitic was a written rather than spoken language and was not a lingua franca in the same way. Many of the translations made during Europe's early modern period were from local vernaculars into Latin for the purposes of wider dissemination; yet composition using literary Sinitic for an audience beyond the archipelago was something that happened only rarely in the Japanese case. Nevertheless, it is striking that Japan's early modern period should have so much in common with early modernity elsewhere.

## Final remarks

Translation is key to understanding many significant political and intellectual changes which occurred in Japan during the Tokugawa, or early modern period. Between the seventeenth and mid-nineteenth centuries translation occurred against the backdrop of a growing commercial publishing industry in which vernacular publishing was becoming ever more important, and an intellectual environment in which scholars, particularly Kokugaku scholars, increasingly valorized Japanese as the language of discourse. Translation is a key indicator of these phenomena. Though literary Sinitic remained a medium of elite scholarship, and – supplemented by *kundoku* annotations – the format in which the Sinitic classics were read by almost all who encountered them, the fields of translation examined in this study show how Japanese registers were

[33] For an introduction, see Levine 1987.

increasingly turned to by scholars and less-educated readers alike. Such translations point to this new Japanese assertiveness, and to the move away from literary Sinitic as the main language of scholarship.

Translation was also an indicator of an important type of vernacularization that took place in another sense: a major scholastic and literary shift in register and social class that occurred during the Tokugawa period. The commercial publishing industry, urbanization, and better education all combined to produce a new market for simpler commentaries, digests, illustrated editions, and *kundoku*-annotated or transcribed editions of works, such as the Sinitic and Japanese classics, which had previously been the intellectual property of elites. These refractions, which themselves involved elements of interlingual, intralingual, and intersemiotic translation, as well as 'translations' in the more conventional sense, represent a major change, and set the Tokugawa centuries apart from previous eras in Japanese history. The lens of translation brings this phenomenon into focus, and demonstrates how important the study of translation is to historians of the period.

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# Index of names

# Index of titles

# Index of subjects